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11 March 1983

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

No. 2718

## CONTENTS

## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

- Armenian Party Urges Sending Letters to Reagan  
(AZTAG, 28 Jan 83) ..... 1

## ISLAMIC AFFAIRS

- Briefs  
Eritrea Genocide Condemned ..... 3

## ARAB AFRICA

## EGYPT

- Price Problems Discussed  
(AL-AHRAM, various dates) ..... 4
- Leaders Answer People's Questions, by  
'Izzat 'Abd al-Mun'im  
Price Controls Policy Criticized,  
by Ibtisam Sa'd
- Status of Drilling in Various Oil Concessions Tabulated  
(Hamdi 'Abd-al-'Aziz; AL-BATRUL, Sep-Oct 82) ..... 14
- Nation's Oil, Gas Production, Consumption for Third  
Quarter Tabulated  
(Saminah Isma'il; AL-BATRUL, Sep-Oct 82) ..... 18
- New Ration Cards, Eligibility Criteria Described  
(Muhammad Abu al-Shuhud; AL-AHRAM, 3 Feb 83) ..... 21
- Crisis Claimed in Islamic Book Publishing  
(Mamduh Khalil al-Waliy; AL-NUR, 2 Feb 83) ..... 23
- Biographical Data on Egyptian Economics Personality  
(Khayriyah Khaysi; AL-AKHBAR, 28 Dec 82) ..... 28

Polluted Drinking Water    Big Problem for Upper Egypt (Muwaffaq Abu al-Nil; AL-AHRAM, 30 Jan 83) .....	31
Crime Statistics for 1982 Released (Badr al-Alfi; AKHBAR AL-YAWM, 1 Jan 83) .....	33
Approaches To Remedy Engineers' Problem Discussed (AL-MUSAWWAR, 4 Feb 83) .....	36
Pros, Cons of Mandatory Service, by Marahah Hilal, Ghali Muhammad Shortage of Engineers Denied, by Ahmad Raslan	
LIBYA	
Libyan Opposition Leader's Statement (Omdurman Domestic Service, 26 Feb 83) .....	56
Briefs Turkmen Meets al-'Ubaydi	60
MOROCCO	
Morocco-Spain Relations Discussed (LE MATIN, 13 Feb 83) .....	61
Briefs POLISARIO Clashes Reported	64
SUDAN	
Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi Accused of Plotting Against Sudan (Omdurman Domestic Service, 18 Feb 83) .....	65
TUNISIA	
Minister of Housing Discusses Draft Law on Foreign-Owned Property (Moncef Belhadj Amor Interview; LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE, 22 Jan 83) .....	67
ARAB EAST/ISRAEL	
IRAQ	
Iraqi-Yugoslav Committee Begins Session (INA, 21 Feb 83) .....	70
Iranian Attacks on Civilian Areas Criticized (Baghdad Radio, 26 Feb 83) .....	72



Egyptians Volunteered 'Of Their Own Free Will'	
(AL-AHALI, 7 Feb 83) .....	74
Opposition Discusses Saddam Husayn Tyranny	
(SANA, 27 Feb 83) .....	76
Briefs	
President Visits Saddam City	77
GDR Light Industry Minister	77
Popular Army Fighters	77
Red Cross Official	78
Algerian Ambassador	78
Yugoslav Official Leaves	78
POW Exchange	79
'APN' Chairman	79
'TASS' Director General	79
New Oil Fields	80
GDR Minister	80
ISRAEL	
Candidates for Next Chief of Staff Evaluated	
(Ethan Haber; YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 10 Dec 82) .....	81
Modifications to Galil Rifle	
(BAMAHANE, 8 Dec 82) .....	86
Bank Liquidity Problems, Credit Squeeze Noted	
(Benny Barak; YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 22 Dec 82) .....	87
Phosphates in Judean Desert	
(YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 14 Dec 82) .....	89
New Genetic Engineering Firm	
(HA'ARETZ, 14 Dec 82) .....	90
Beersheba Phosphate Reserves	
(Michael Grati; HA'ARETZ, 13 Dec 82) .....	91
Briefs	
Negev Oil Shale	92
LEBANON	
'AL-ANWAR' Comments on Arab Stand in Negotiations	
(Beirut Domestic Service, 27 Feb 83) .....	93
Report on Cabinet Decisions	
(Beirut Domestic Service, 25 Feb 83) .....	94
Report on al-Jumayyil-Habib Talks	
(Beirut Domestic Service, 25 Feb 83) .....	96

Pierre al-Jumayyil Says Israel Entered Uninvited (Radio Free Lebanon, 11 Feb 83) .....	97
Al-Wazzan Tours Army Positions, Makes Statement (Beirut Domestic Service, 17 Feb 83) .....	98
Dany Sham'un Interview on 'Extra Cabinet' (Dany Sham'un Interview; MONDAY MORNING, 7-13 Feb 83) ..	100
George Hawi Addresses PNC Session (EL MOUDJAHID, 16 Feb 83) .....	106
Report on Receipt of First Lebanese Underground Statement (Muhammad Salam; KUNA, 24 Feb 83) .....	108
<b>Briefs</b>	
FRG Supports Foreign Withdrawals	110
U.S. Support	110
Soviet, PRC Envoys	110
President Threatens Resignation	111
Arms Cache Report	111
Salam Meets al-Jumayyil	111
Jubb Jannin Reinforcement	112
Blizzard Disaster	112
Al-As'ad, Habib Meet	112
Local Committees Rejected	112
Syrian Concentrations	113
 <b>PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS</b>	
'Arafat Discusses Relations With, Expectations From Egypt (Yasir 'Arafat Interview; AL-MUSAWWAR, 31 Dec 82) .....	114
Survivors Describe Sabra, Shatila Massacre (SHU'UN FILASTINIYAH, Nov-Dec 82) .....	134
Eyewitnesses Describe Detention in Ansar Camp (Sa'dun Husayn; SHU'UN FILASTINIYAH, Nov-Dec 82) .....	153
 <b>SAUDI ARABIA</b>	
Press Comments on Iran-Iraq War (SPA, 8 Feb 83) .....	191
Fahd Comments on Palestinian Cooperation, Gulf Council (SPA, 28 Feb 83) .....	193
Comments on Moroccan-Algerian Meeting ('Ali 'Abdallah al-Mani'; Riyadh Domestic Service, 27 Feb 83) .....	194
PNC Resolutions, Reagan Statements Discussed ('UKAZ, 23 Feb 83) .....	195

Riyadh Welcomes PCN 'Important' Resolutions ( 'Ali 'Abdallah al-Mani; Riyadh Domestic Service, 23 Feb 83) .....	197
Daily on Reagan Memo to King Hassan II (AL-JAZIRAH, 16 Feb 83) .....	199
Riyadh Commentator Denounces Recent Iranian Offensive (Riyadh Domestic Service, 9 Feb 83) .....	200
Comments on Israel-Lebanon Talks, U.S. Stand ( 'Husayn al'Askari; Riyadh Domestic Service, 25 Feb 83) .	201
Israeli Obstinacy in Negotiations Viewed ( 'Ali 'Abdallah al-Mani; Riyadh Domestic Service, 24 Feb 83) .....	202
Saudi Paper Equates Khomeyni, Zionist Danger (Editorial; 'UKAZ, 11 Feb 83) .....	204
Papers Urge Arab-Palestinian Stand To Regain Rights (SPA, 23 Feb 83) .....	206
Riyadh on Lebanese Negotiations, Reagan's Security Guarantee ( 'Ali 'Abdallah al-Man; Riyadh Domestic Service, 23 Feb 83) .....	207
Jidda Paper Criticizes, U.S. Over Lebanon ( 'UKAZ, 8 Feb 83) .....	209
Riyadh Comments on Reagan's Criticism of Israel (Riyadh Domestic Service, 8 Feb 83) .....	212
Briefs	
Malaysian Minister	213
PNC Resolutions	213

#### PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

United States Plots Against Libya Criticized (Aden Domestic Service, 19 Feb 83) .....	214
PDRY Chairman Cables al-Qadhdhafi on U.S. Provocations (Aden Domestic Service, 19 Feb 83) .....	215
PDRY Chairman Congratulates DFLP Leader ( 'Ali Nasir Muhammad; Aden Domestic Service, 27 Feb 83) .	216
PDRY Chairman Receives DPRK Message, Sends Cables (Aden Domestic Service, 28 Feb 83) .....	217
Briefs	
USSR's Ustinov Congratulated	218
'ANA'-'APS' Cooperation Agreement	218

## YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

### Briefs

Diplomatic Relations With Philippines	219
Iraqi Official Departs	219
Presidential Letter to DPRK	219
Iraqi Official Arrives	219
Kim Il-song Message	220

## SOUTH ASIA

### AFGHANISTAN

Role of Women in Building New Society Stressed (KABUL NEW TIMES, 22 Jan 83) .....	221
--	-----

Worker Calls for More Participation  
WDOA Mobilizes Women, Editorial

### BANGLADESH

Prospects for Rural Electrification by 1995 Discussed (Editorial; ITTEFAQ, 9 Jan 83) .....	222
---	-----

### INDIA

Summit Said To Pose Challenge to Indian Statesmanship (THE HINDU, 23 Jan 83) .....	224
---	-----

Analyst on Expectations From Nepal Leader's Visit (G. K. Reddy; THE HINDU, 23 Jan 83) .....	226
--	-----

Analyst Discusses Position on Beijing Talks (G. K. Reddy; THE HINDU, various dates) .....	227
--	-----

Principles Reviewed  
Psychological Barrier to Dialogue

Concern Over Indian Trade Deficit With EEC Noted (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 19 Jan 83) .....	232
---	-----

Reportage on Visit of Belgian Foreign Minister (Various sources, various dates) .....	234
--	-----

C. K. Reddy Report  
Offer of Technical Cooperation

Partner-Country Status at 1984 Hanover Fair (THE HINDU, 23 Jan 83) .....	236
---	-----

## IRAN

Charges, Verdicts of Executed Members of 'Union of Communists' (ETTELA'AT, 29 Jan 83) .....	237
Velayati Outlines Iran's Foreign Policy ( 'Ali Akbar Velayati Interview; JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI, 7 Feb 83) .....	262
Commentary: 'Regarding Talks With Afghanistan' (National Voice of Iran, 2 Feb 83) .....	265
Briefs Iranian Refugees in Lisbon .....	267

## PAKISTAN

MRD's Pro-Soviet Stand Seen as Threat to Pakistan's Security (Chaudhri Abdul Hamid; NAWA-I-WAQT, 29 Jan 83) .....	268
Increase in Gas, Petroleum Prices Fuel Inflation (Editorial; JANG, 11 Jan 83) .....	271
Former Baluchistan Governor Criticized for Stand on Autonomy (Editorial; JANG, 14 Jan 83) .....	274
Officials Urge Private Sector Role in Solving Power Crisis (Editorial; JANG, 20 Jan 83) .....	275

ARMENIAN PARTY URGES SENDING LETTERS TO REAGAN

GF271752 Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 28 Jan 83 p 3

[Text] We have published a letter on this page today addressed to the President of the United States in response to an announcement made by the U.S. State Department. In the mentioned announcement, which was published in Armenian in the 16 December 1982 issue of AZTAG, the U.S. State Department noted that "It does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed genocide against the Armenian people."

Our letter written in English and translated into Armenian does not need an explanation. We call on all our compatriots to sign this letter, and after noting your address and date, send it to the President of the United States to the address noted on the letter.

Compatriots, the time for silence and submission has long passed. We must make our voices of protest heard every time attempts to trample upon the rights of the Armenian people are made. Any attempt by government officials, political personalities, historians or specialists to distort the Armenian genocide and question whether it occurred must not be allowed without a response. Each form of protest has its own unique value and effect. The campaign of writing letters is a means of responding and counterpropaganda that becomes effective when used in an organized way by the large masses of the people.

We advise you that if you have the means, to write your own personal letter in your own style and manner. The basic and direct matter is to respond to the State Department and express our protest.

We reiterate, it is necessary to immediately cut and send the following letter in English to the President's address.

[Signed] The Body of the Armenian Cause of the Armenian Revolutionary Tashnak Party in Lebanon

Mr Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, The White House, Washington D.C., U.S.A.

Dear Mr President,

I was greatly disappointed in reading the statement issued by the State Department in its bulletin of August 1982 whereby the Department asserts that "It does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed genocide against the Armenian people." I have always been under the impression that the United States, more than any other democratic country, cherished and upheld such great ideals of humanity as justice, freedom and truth. I have no doubts in my mind that you know the truth about the genocide of Armenians during World War I, a historical fact supported by the eyewitness accounts of Ambassador Morgenthau and a great number of missionaries, by the subsequent publication of many secret dispatches of the Turkish authorities to the provincial governors and by the studies of many historians, political scientists, and other specialists.

Did the State Department have to distort such irrefutable historical facts to win the friendship of an ally? Or is this an attempt to provide ammunition to the anti-Armenian propaganda campaign in which the Turkish Government has been engaged in recent years in a futile effort to cover up and refute responsibility for the holocaust of millions of innocent victims during World War II? [as published] The State Department would do better to encourage Turkey to emulate Germany's example.

There are still thousands of survivors of the genocide, who live in the Middle East, the United States, Western Europe and in other countries; they are living evidence to the unspeakable horrors and atrocities. In other words, the memory of this genocide is still fresh and its wound has not healed. The statement of the State Department will serve only to exasperate and exacerbate all Armenians, old and young, well-to-do and not-so-well-off, but especially the young. And disappointed people often resort to extreme methods. While the Armenians are trying to convince the young to desist from the use of violent means in the pursuit of their cause, this kind of statement will not only provide justification for their acts, but strengthen the extremists among them.

More importantly, it is not by distorting history that the State Department can help the Turkish ally, whose "loyalty", by the way, was tested during World War II. No lasting friendship can be established on falsehood and hypocrisy. Perhaps it is possible to cover up an indisputable historical truth, such as the genocide, for some time, but not forever. In the end, the attempt of the State Department to help cover up or distort the genocide of the Armenians will prove not only vain but counterproductive. For such attempts to question or misrepresent the truth of the genocide will make the Armenians more resolute, more determined and more united in the pursuit of their just cause. Moreover, they will enable the Armenian people to know who their true friends really are.

Mr President, I consider you a friend of the Armenian people, for you have had a long association with Armenian-Americans in your native state of California; I am sure you will take the necessary steps first to retract the above-mentioned statement and then to see to it that such unwarranted statements which serve no purpose but to unnecessarily irritate and provoke, are not issued.

Wishing you good health and many prosperous years, I remain.

Sincerely,

My address is:

CSO: 4605/22

BRIEFS

ERITREA GENOCIDE CONDEMNED--Mecca, 28 Feb (SPA)--Secretary general of the World Muslim League Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali al-Harkan has stressed that escalation of the genocide and deportation which is now being launched by the Ethiopian communist forces against the Eritreans in their own territory and homeland is considered a blatant violation of the most basic human rights, and an open assault on the principles of the United Nations, of which Ethiopia is a member. The World Muslim League's secretary general said this ferocious war has entered its ninth day and thousands of deadly weapons are being used to strike Mujahidin positions in villages and towns. Al-Harkan urged peace-loving countries and international organizations to make efforts to end these genocidal campaigns which are aimed at the Muslim people of Eritrea, their homeland and beliefs, so that peace, security and stability will return to this region of the world. [Text] [LD281417 Riyadh SPA in Arabic 1317 GMT 28 Feb 83]

CSO: 4400/224



## PRICE PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

### Leaders Answer People's Questions

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 20 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by 'Izzat 'Abd al-Mun'im]

[Text] Our young people are asking: Why are prices rising, but wages are staying the same?

Why is it that only employees pay taxes? Our leaders are answering as follows:

No official is above the law.

Prices will be fixed and effective monitoring of prices will be carried out.

People in the high-income categories will start paying taxes.

Within the ranks of the National Democratic Party there took place a frank and direct dialogue between young people, along with various categories of people such as intellectuals, workers, university students, professional people, tradespeople, and peasants, on the one hand, and our leaders, prime minister, deputy prime ministers, and ministers, on the other hand. By means of this dialogue our young people presented all of their problems, concerns, and dreams to all of these leaders. The leaders' answers were clear and sincere, and they dealt with these issues brought up by our young people in view of the fact that these issues reflect the reality of the life of the average Egyptian.

The first question posed by one of these young people concerned the issue of wages, prices, and the nature of the indexes between wages and prices. The question was answered as follows by Dr Fu'ad Muhi al-Din, the prime minister: "We are working on stabilizing prices so that they will not be too high for the working classes. There are 12 causes for the rise in prices. This rise in prices is something which leads to the occurrence of inflation, the rate of which varies between 12 and 18 percent annually. We are attempting to

deal with these prices and we are trying to raise wages as much as we can. We are also striving to bring about effective monitoring of prices, to subsidize them, and to close the gaps where people evade this price monitoring and get around the law dealing with prices." The next question by one of our young people concerned meat and the skyrocketing and unstable prices of meat. He asked whether or not meat has become a luxury item restricted only to certain classes of people. Dr Muhi al-Din answered: "The price of meat, which has now become 4 Egyptian pounds, represents real exploitation of our people which is being practiced by some merchants. This is something which the government is against, and we are trying to expand the supply of meat at prices of 68, 100, and 240 piasters for our masses of people, and we are trying to have meat at these prices reach all of the governorates."

The next question by one of our young people concerned the reason why employees or average citizens pay taxes regularly, whereas many people in the richer categories who are able to pay taxes are not paying these taxes. The secretary general of the National Democratic Party answered this question as follows: "There really are categories of people who receive high salaries, who do not pay taxes, and who do not even have tax cards. We must get these categories of people to pay what they owe to the government. Taxes should not be something which only employees pay." The next question concerned Islamic law and the fact that there has been a great deal of talk about it, but so far it has not been applied. Dr Muhi al-Din answered the question as follows: "We do have draft laws concerning the application of Islamic law. They have been prepared in the People's Assembly, and they are now being reviewed by the appropriate committees in the People's Assembly. When the draft laws are in their final form, they will be submitted to the People's Assembly for it to debate and approve them. I assure you that the government is really serious about applying Islamic law and adopting its principles." Another young person asked about subsidies, about the questions being brought up concerning them, and about whether or not they were going to be eliminated or kept. He also wanted to know if subsidies were going to be kept for all items or whether or not they were going to be restricted only to certain items.

#### The Most Serious Issue: Prices and Subsidies

The prime minister answered as follows: "The government spends 2.04 billion Egyptian pounds a year on subsidies, and of this total amount 800 million Egyptian pounds are spent on bread, 300 million Egyptian pounds are spent on edible oils, 900 million Egyptian pounds are spent on red meats, 10 million Egyptian pounds are spent on white meats, and 50 million Egyptian pounds are spent on cigarettes." He went on to say: "Loaves of bread are what receive the most subsidies. The cost of a single flat loaf of bread is 3 piasters, and we sell each one for 1 piaster, that is, each flat loaf of bread receives a subsidy of 2 piasters. Right now the question facing us is how to have these subsidized loaves of bread be within reach of low-income people, and how to have the unsubsidized bread reach the people in the higher-income categories. We have thought about producing special bread which would sell for 3 or 4 piasters, to be bought by people in higher-income categories, and having the subsidized bread continue to be

available to people in lower-income categories. But the question now is how to establish guidelines which will enable us to accomplish this." Dr Muhi al-Din asked the young people to furnish some of their ideas concerning a method for accomplishing this. The prime minister went on to say: "The most serious issue facing us now is that of making a decision concerning two important matters--prices and subsidies. In any case, the decision should above all be favorable to the masses of people in order to improve their living conditions. I assure you that we are on the side of the people, in particular the low-income people, when we make all of our decisions." A question was brought up about Egypt's leaders, why some of them do not accomplish anything, and why the governors are chosen from the ranks of the ruling party. Dr Muhi al-Din answered: "Our procedure is to get rid of any leader who is not up to his job or not capable of accomplishing anything. As for why the governors are chosen from among the ranks of the ruling party, this is done so that they can implement the party and government program set up for each governorate--a program which essentially represents the general framework of the government's plan for development."

In answer to a question about the reasons for the cigarette crisis, the prime minister said: "The crisis is basically attributable not to a shortage in production, but rather to poor distribution of cigarettes. We have the cigarettes, but they are being sold on the black market at high prices. We are going to increase cigarette production and two new lines of cigarettes will be in the production stage by the end of April 1983. This will solve the crisis, and we are going to develop our method of distribution."

The next question asked by one of the young people concerned the housing crisis. He wanted to know when Egyptian citizens would be able to find suitable housing at suitable prices--without having to pay an illegal bonus to rent an apartment or an exorbitant price to own a condominium. Engineer Hasballah al-Kafrawi, minister of reconstruction and new communities, answered the question as follows: "The investments made by the government to the extent of its resources, will not really be able to solve the housing problem. According to the national housing plan, 3.6 million housing units must be constructed during the next 18 years. With this premise in mind, we must revise the government's role as far as housing is concerned so that we can have the private sector assume the largest burden in the field of constructing housing units. The private sector is better able to do this than is either the government or the public sector. The government's role should be restricted to providing all of the resources and furnishing all of the credit needed to help accomplish this. On this basis, the government this year has extended 450 million Egyptian pounds of loans to individuals and people in cooperative housing groups. Our ministry has made loan rules and regulations easier so that they can apply to above-average housing. They no longer are restricted to housing units, but also can be applied to covering the costs of home utilities. Furthermore, the upper limit for loans for the various levels of housing units has been increased. This makes it possible to provide suitable housing for every citizen which will cost no more than from 25 to 30 percent of his income and it will broaden the renting base. Our aim is to construct 800,000 housing units, utilizing

investments totalling 3.448 billion Egyptian pounds, during the next 5 years. In addition to this we want to provide for building materials requirements locally by means of expanding the production of these materials, we want to keep their prices within bounds, we want to introduce provisions for monitoring their specifications, we want the materials to be distributed in a just manner, we want them to be developed so that they are in keeping with international technological development, and we want to introduce cheap alternative construction materials."

#### The Open-Door Policy and Surplus Labor Force

The next question concerned the open-door policy and the questions being raised concerning it. The reply to this question was given by Dr Wajih Shindi, minister of investment: "Arab and foreign capital is needed as long as it is within the framework of the plan and achieves economic benefits for us. At first some people attempted to interpret the concept of the open-door policy as meaning increasing imports. But the open-door policy which we need is one that provides an open door for production enterprises which will allow us to decrease imports and be self-sufficient."

Then one of the young people asked a question about the labor force, which was as follows: "Is there a labor force surplus or a shortage in our labor force?" An answer was provided by Mr 'Adil ' Abd al-Baqi, minister of administrative development: "Work groups were formed to make a list of the locations where there was either a labor force surplus or a labor force shortage. They submitted reports concerning this matter, and it turned out that there was no labor force shortage, but rather a poor distribution of the labor force. Our plan for dealing with this problem involves redistribution of the labor force on a well-thought-out basis, taking advantage of the situation of a labor force surplus or poor distribution of the labor force [where possible], and improving the level of work done in the services ministries. Ten million Egyptian pounds have been allotted to the armed forces training centers which will participate in training and turning out qualified workers. The workers who go through the training courses at these centers will then be distributed to the various ministries. It is estimated that about 60,000 workers per year will graduate from these training centers."

A question was then asked about education, the problems of education, and how we could develop our educational system. The question was answered by Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, deputy prime minister and minister of education: "During the last 2 years large-scale steps have been taken which have the objective of developing and modernizing our educational system as well as formulating legislative provisions for various realms of reform in the various levels and types of our pre-university educational system. The new general policy for our school books has been prescribed, regulations concerning them on all educational levels have been formulated, student cultural and social affairs have been organized, and the policy and general framework for educational research and studies connected therewith has been formulated. At the present time the ministry is reviewing the religious educational programs and plans for the various classes and educational

stages. Right now a joint study is being undertaken by our ministry, al-Azhar, and the Ministry of Religious Trusts in order for us to review the new programs before approving them. Another of our objectives is to make basic education in our elementary schools something which is universal and to develop the programs in our public secondary school system. We want the curriculum to include some practical education and the teaching of technical skills, and we also want to continue the policy of expanding technical education and developing it so that we will be able to have enough people in technical fields."

#### Why Has There Been a Decline in Agriculture?

One of the young people asked a question concerning the reasons for the decline in agriculture in our country and concerning what approach was being followed to solve the problems which the peasants are suffering from. The question was answered by Dr Yusuf Wali, minister of agriculture, who said: "A draft law has been prepared which stipulates that agricultural land may not be encroached upon and its fertility must be maintained. This draft law will be submitted to the People's Assembly to be approved and in order to have agricultural problems be dealt with. The ministry has already begun to implement programs dealing with introducing appropriate mechanization for agricultural crops. In addition to this, we are making a review of the composition of the crops and are adopting the 3-year crop rotation system. The ministry is also preparing a comprehensive study concerning the prices of agricultural crops and dealing with the phenomenon of the rise in prices of fertilizers. The policy of the Ministry of Agriculture is based on selling fertilizer to the farmers at subsidized prices and making available sufficient quantities of fertilizer by means of both pursuing local production and importing fertilizer."

#### Price Controls Policy Criticized

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 29 Dec 82 p 9

[Article by Ibtisam Sa'd: "Will Price Controls Be Able to Protect the Consumers?"]

[Text] The experts assure us: "Price controls are behind the decline in production!"

"We need to review the policy of price-setting and constant monitoring the merchants."

How do we guarantee that an item reaches the consumers at an appropriate price in view of the government's current policy, especially after the issuance of the decree calling for the formation of a government body to study prices?

The questions being brought up by the economics page [of AL-AHRAM] for discussion are the following: To what degree does the policy of price controls affect the quality of the goods and cause a decline in production?

Has the policy of price controls succeeded in the case of all of the goods or just in the case of some of them? If it has succeeded only in the case of certain goods, why has it succeeded with them and not with others? Are there particular provisions which must be applied in order to guarantee the success of price controls for a given product?

Here is what Mustafa Zaki, the director general of the Cairo Chamber of Commerce, says concerning these matters: "In order for a policy of price controls to succeed and in order to have merchants adhere to it or, at least, adhere to the percentages of profit which are set for a given piece of merchandise, the setting of the price for any product or piece of merchandise must take place at the appropriate time. Otherwise the product will disappear from the market. For example, when prices are set for watermelons the watermelons disappear from the local market and are sold on the sly at prices higher than the prices set by price controls. The reason for this is that the setting of prices for watermelons should take place after watermelons from Lower Egypt have been put on the market so that supply will be greater and demand will decrease. Furthermore, prices should be set for watermelons which weigh less than 5 kilograms, but no prices should be set for those that weigh more than that and it should be left up to the merchants to judge and set the prices. The price-setting should be just so that the prices are not less than actual cost. For example, a product such as macaroni is important because it is a substitute for rice when rice is not available. When price controls determined that the price of a kilogram of domestically produced macaroni should be 13 piasters, this led many private sector plants to refrain from producing macaroni and the producers closed down their plants. At the same time, we saw the appearance of macaroni produced by an investment company which had been established in accordance with Law Number 43 of 1974, and this company was not bound by price controls. This company proceeded to sell macaroni at a price of 90 piasters per kilogram in spite of the fact that there were two public sector companies which produced two other sorts of macaroni and sold them at prices ranging between 27 and 35 piasters--and what they produced was not enough for the needs of the market. Also, the investment company gives retail merchants a far higher rate of profit than what is obtained by merchants from the plants which produce domestic macaroni that is subject to price controls. This resulted in the widespread appearance in the market of the macaroni produced by the investment company and the consumers were forced to buy it. For this reason the market should be studied and one should become acquainted with its requirements before setting prices for any merchandise or product, and appropriate prices should be set so that the products do not disappear from the market."

Mr Zaki went on to say: "Other requirements for successful price-setting include the fact that the prices set for a given product should be changed at frequent intervals and one should study all of the circumstances concerning the production and marketing of the product as well as the actual cost involved in each stage of producing the product. The person responsible for setting the price of the product should take into consideration the planning involved concerning the quantities of the product produced so that increasing supply of the product will lead to decreasing demand for it."



This will help to get merchants to adhere to the price which has been set. For example, the cost of a sack of flour for making bread has been fixed since 1980 and still has not been changed, even though the cost [of producing it] has gone up. This has led to a lack of supply of bread in the market and has led to the occurrence of bread shortages during holidays and times of festivals. This has also led to the fact that bakeries are not adhering to the specifications set for producing loaves of bread--either in terms of weight or in terms of size or shape. This has also led to the appearance of loaves of higher-quality bread which is sold at a higher price.

"Furthermore, putting price controls on some goods has led to destroying the quality of these goods. One example of this is the price-setting for bananas. This led to the disappearance of locally produced bananas and caused their price to rise to more than 60 piasters per kilogram. Also, the bananas are smaller, their characteristics are different, and their taste is different. The reason for this is that growing bananas requires that they remain under certain conditions. For example, they have to be kept at a certain temperature in refrigeration units for a certain length of time, and, during the period when the bananas are growing, the trees have to be transplanted from soil of a particular type to another type of soil--soil which requires greater care and more effort to look after it. The consequence has been that setting a fixed price for this product has led to a decrease in its quality and to its disappearance from the market, and this has led to the appearance of imported bananas which cost up to 90 piasters per kilogram."

Isma'il Abdallah, head of the Fish Products Division in the Chamber of Commerce, said: "Another requirement for successful price controls is that prices be set with regard to all of the distribution channels of the merchandise--from the very beginning of their production till the time they reach the consumers. The prices should not be set for only one stage of production and not for the other stages. For example, setting prices for fried fish without setting prices for fresh fish caused many fried fish merchants to continually complain about the increase in the prices of fresh fish. This happened because when wholesale merchants do not adhere to fixed prices for fresh fish and instead price the product in order to get the highest rate of profit, this causes the fried fish merchants not to adhere to the prices fixed for them and to thus be subject to punishment by law." Mr 'Abdallah then demanded that price controls both for fried fish and fresh fish be eliminated.

"Also in the case of meat the slaughterhouses have not been selling at fixed prices, and this has led to a general increase in the price of meat and has forced wholesale meat merchants to buy the meat from the slaughterhouses at prices above those set by price controls. These higher prices have consequently been passed on to the retail merchants and from them to the consumers.

"This is why one must continually keep track of the entire chain involved in the selling of a product and why continuous monitoring of the prices must be done in order to implement price controls." Mr Zaki added: "The policy of price controls has been successful in the case of goods which are distributed [illegible] by food ration cards [illegible] monitoring all the sales

distribution channels. In the case of vegetables, their price-setting is flexible and changes every week in accordance with the quantities available in the wholesale markets, and the setting of their prices is subject to indicators of supply and demand. This has led the merchants to adhere to the prices set and sometimes the [illegible] vegetables is less than the fixed price because large quantities of the vegetables are available in the market. This proves that the best indicator for the success of price controls is that the product be available in the market and that the prices of the product be subject to the policy of supply and demand."

This brings up an important question: Do price controls cause a decline in domestic production?

Mr Zaki answers this question as follows: "The main reason for a decline in the production by all of the industrial firms has been the imposition of price controls under a category called 'social prices'. This has led to the emergence of products of poor quality. Examples of such products are the textiles and fabrics used by the common people and carbonated drinks. The textiles and fabrics used by the common people have declined in quality because their prices have been fixed even though the cost of producing them has risen. The quality of domestically produced carbonated drinks has declined because they are unable to compete with their foreign counterparts due to the fact that they must have fixed prices. As a result of this, the profit margin gained by retail merchants who sell these drinks is far less than the profit margin obtained by merchants who market imported carbonated drinks. This has led to the disappearance and decline in quality of this product. For this reason most of [illegible] their price remains fixed and does not change or increase for a long time. This is in spite of the increase in all of the internal cost elements in the production of the goods, the most important ones being wages and social benefit and allowances which are established in accordance with the government's policy. This has led to a decline in the quality of the products and to the fact that the consumers are not demanding them. As a result of this, there have been losses rather than profits which would have given production companies the opportunity to replace and renovate [their machinery and plants], and the production companies in the public sector would not have to resort to asking the Ministry of Finance to cover the deficit which results in the budget of these companies. The inevitable result of this is that the company resorts to decreasing the volume of what is produced or produces other alternative goods, for which the rate of profit has not been set, in order to compensate for losses. In the end the consumers receive products at fixed prices which have been poorly produced. This also affects the companies themselves since they then accumulate a huge and stagnant inventory of goods. It was recently stated that this inventory amounted to 3.18 billion Egyptian pounds worth of goods in 1980. Public sector companies are supposed to sell their products at an economic price (that is, actual cost price plus a suitable profit margin)."

Salah Mahmud, head of the Ironware and Paints Division in the Chamber of Commerce, said: "There is no justice in price controls. The result is that the prices of imported goods and merchandise rise above the levels set for them as a result of the fact that price controls do not take into account the



actual value of free currencies. The official exchange rate of the dollar in commercial banks is 83 piasters, but the free exchange rate or exchange rate in the black market has gone up to as much as 108 piasters. The difference between these two exchange rates means a loss for importers because Decree Number 263 of 1981 dealing with the exchange rate of the dollar has set the dollar's exchange rate at 83 piasters when calculating the import costs of imported merchandise. The fact is, though, that the exchange rate is 32 percent higher than this and this forces importers to increase the prices of their products so that they are greater than these products' set prices because, in the case of many of these products, the profit margin is no more than 21 percent for bottled products and 15 percent for cigarettes. It is inconceivable that merchants should suffer losses as a result of injustice in the calculation of import costs in accordance with this decree. For this reason it is necessary that Decree Number 263 of 1981 dealing with calculating the cost of the dollar be amended in order that it either conform to reality or the currency [illegible] in the Central Bank by having the currency set at whatever exchange rate is determined, provided that import costs are calculated in accordance with this rate of exchange."

#### The Injustice of the Import Cost

Since we are engaged in making a study of the setting of prices for shoes, we asked the opinion of the Chamber of Commerce concerning this subject.

Kamal Hafiz Ramadan, deputy head of the Chamber of Commerce and member of the Advisory Council, said: "Price controls were set for the elements of production of shoes in 1968, and this led to a decline in the quality of the shoes manufactured and in the raw materials used. If price controls were put on shoes, this would result in many shoe manufacturers leaving this field and going to other fields. It would also mean that no taste and creativity would be employed in the making of shoes and would lead to a decline in their quality. For this reason, the plan to set price controls for shoes should be carefully studied and we should take into account all of the opinions expressed by those who work in the field."

Majdi Fahmi, owner of a place which serves cooked beans and fried bean croquettes [ful wa ta'miyah], said: "The price of sandwiches containing cooked beans and fried bean croquettes has been set at 25 milliemes. This was done without [illegible] those who themselves deal in the business when establishing the actual cost of making the sandwiches. These price controls are useless. They have caused the owners of the places serving these sandwiches to suffer great losses. The result has been that the owners of 13 places in Cairo which serve these sandwiches have closed down their establishments and have entered other fields of business, including dealing in spare parts for automobiles. This happened because the actual cost of producing a single sandwich has risen to 27.5 milliemes, whereas we are obliged to sell each sandwich to the consumers at a price of 25 milliemes. For this reason we demand that we be allowed to sell our sandwiches which contain both cooked beans and fried bean croquettes together at a price of 5 piasters each, and in accordance with demand on the part of the consumers, in order to compensate ourselves for the losses which we suffer by selling the other sandwiches at a price of 25 milliemes."

In the end it is the consumers who are the victims of all of these justifications. However, it is the responsibility of the economic authorities to provide merchandise of good quality at prices which are appropriate for the consumers and easy [for them to pay]--whether this is done by means of revising the policy of price controls, or continuously keeping track of and monitoring what the merchants do, or by means of introducing special cards to guarantee [missing words] the merchandise to them.

9468

CSO: 4504/133

## STATUS OF DRILLING IN VARIOUS OIL CONCESSIONS TABULATED

Cairo AL-BATRUL in Arabic No 5, Sep-Oct 82 pp 17-19

[Article by Hamdi 'Abd-al-'Aziz: "The Latest Oil Discoveries in Egypt"]

[Text] The policy of the Egyptian petroleum sector is aimed at encouraging and intensifying oil exploration activities, speeding up the reaching of agreements bearing on them and putting them into execution so that more oil may be discovered and oil reserves enhanced, from the premise of providing and maintaining an adequate amount of oil reserves in the ground so that it will be possible to produce these in the future, to cope with future local needs and also to attain the oil sector's goal of covering Egypt's various requirements for oil products, which can be met only by carrying out more oil discoveries.

The oil sector has continued to sign new oil agreements with a group of international companies to cover additional areas. These agreements have made expansion in exploration and drilling activities possible, and that is the main factor in ascertaining our oil resources accurately.

It is worth pointing out that the number of oil agreements that were concluded rose from 9 in 1980-81 to 12 in 1981-82 (including a gas amendment agreement,) covering about 14,224 square kilometers. Total expenditures on exploration in those areas came to about \$167 million, including about \$17.3 million in signature bonuses. The total number of feet drilled in the period between 1973 and the end of 1981 came to about 3,073,494, and the number of wells drilled totalled 306.

The policy of intensifying oil exploration activities through the conclusion of a number of oil agreements with international firms of various nationalities has borne fruit with the realization of a number of oil discoveries that have contributed to increasing proved oil reserves and have contributed to increasing production year by year to make up for the natural decline taking place in the fields.

The number of oil discoveries from 197 [illegible] to June 1980 came to 24, including three natural gas discoveries. As a result of intensified exploration activities, the number of oil discoveries in the fiscal year 1980-81 grew, totaling 13 in the Gulf of Suez, the Western Desert and the Mediterranean, including three gas fields.

The constant increase in the number of discoveries continued in 1981-82, totaling 17 (including two gas fields, in the Gulf of Suez area). Herewith is a statement on the oil discoveries that took place in 1981-82.

One: The Gulf of Suez

The number of oil discoveries in the Gulf of Suez area during the abovementioned period came to 12, as follows:

1. QQ 89-1 was discovered by the Deminex Company. The discovery was tested on 13 July 1981 and yielded a production rate of about 7.8 million cubic feet of gas and about 2,030 barrels of condensate. The expected production date will depend on the gas consumption plan.
2. QQ 89-2 was discovered by the Deminex Company. The discovery was tested in December 1981 and yielded a production rate of about 1,830 barrels of 32.7 degree oil a day. It is expected that it will start producing in 1985.
3. GS 336-1 was discovered by the Gulf of Suez Petroleum Company (GUPCO). The discovery was tested on 3 August 1981 and yielded a rate of production of about 3,595 barrels of 29 degree oil a day. It is expected that it will start production in 1986.
4. GS 315-1. This was discovered by the Gulf of Suez Petroleum Company and the discovery was tested on 13 August 1981. It yielded a production rate of about 1,595 barrels of 29.6 degree oil a day, and it is expected that it will start producing in 1985.
5. RR 89-1. This was discovered by the Deminex Company. The discovery was tested on 15 September 1981, and yielded a rate of production of about 11 million cubic feet of gas and about 64 barrels of condensate. The anticipated date for production will depend on the gas consumption plan.
6. South Belayim 339-1. This was discovered by the Gulf of Suez Petroleum Company. The discovery was tested on 9 November 1981 and yielded a production rate of about 1,700 barrels a day of 31.5 degree oil. It is expected that it will start production in 1985.
7. South Gharah 376-1. This was discovered by the Gulf of Suez Petroleum Company. The discovery was tested on 23 November 1981 and yielded a rate of production of about 3,564 barrels of 26.4 degree oil. It is expected that it will start production in 1986.
8. East al-Zayt 391-3. This was discovered by Esso. The discovery was tested on 19 January 1982 and yielded a rate of production of about 3,350 barrels of 35.5 degree oil a day. It is expected to start producing in 1985.
9. GS 356-1. That was discovered by the Gulf of Suez Oil Company and the discovery was tested in February 1982. It yielded a rate of production of about 3,035 barrels of 34.3 degree oil a day and it is expected that it will start production in 1984.

10. 345-2. That was discovered by the Gulf of Suez Petroleum Company. The discovery was tested on 30 March 1982 and yielded a rate of production of about 3,225 barrels of 37.7 degree oil a day. It is expected that it will start production in 1985.

11. South Gharah 404-1. That was discovered by the Gulf of Suez Petroleum Company. The discovery was tested on 5 August 1982 and yielded a rate of production of about 4,608 barrels of 33 degree oil a day. It is expected that it will start production in 1985.

12. South Ramadan-1. This was discovered by the Total Company. The discovery was tested on 6 July 1982 and yielded a rate of production of about 5,700 barrels of 38.8 degree oil a day. It is expected that it will start production in 1985.

#### Two: The Western Desert

The number of oil discoveries during the abovementioned period came to two, as follows:

1. The Y structure. This was discovered by the General Petroleum Company. The well was tested on 14 August 1982 and yielded a rate of production of about 17.9 million cubic feet of gas and about 1,900 barrels of oil and condensate a day. It is expected that production will start in 1985. The maximum economic rate of the well has been investigated and it is being evaluated to establish its economic feasibility.

2. Badr-al-Din 1. This was discovered by the Shell and Young Company. The discovery was tested on 18 January 1982 and yielded a production rate of about 5,960 barrels of 39 degree oil a day. It is expected that it will start production in 1984.

#### Three: The Eastern Desert

The number of oil discoveries during this period came to two, namely:

1. 'Ishsh al-Malahak-1. This was discovered by the Canadian Superior Company. The discovery was tested on 27 June 1982 and yielded a rate of production of about 857 barrels of 43-degree oil a day. It is expected that it will start producing in 1985.

The maximum economic rate of the well has been investigated and it is being evaluated to establish its economic feasibility.

2. North Ra's al-Bahar-2. This was discovered by the Marathon Company. The discovery was tested in December 1981 and yielded a rate of production of about 2,790 barrels of 36.9-degree oil a day. It is being re-evaluated.

Four: The Mediterranean (Northwestern in Sinai)

1. Tinah-1. This was discovered by the International Oil Company. The discovery was tested in November 1981 and yielded a production rate of about 4,600 barrels of 30-degree oil a day. It is being re-evaluated.

The oil discoveries made recently have obvious significance, which is that the land and territorial waters of Egypt still are the source of great hope as far as Egypt's oil future goes.

11887

CSC: 4504/159

## NATION'S OIL, GAS PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION FOR THIRD QUARTER TABULATED

Cairo AL-BATRUL in Arabic No 5, Sep-Oct 82 pp 48-50

[Article by Saminah Isma'il: "Oil in the Arab Republic of Egypt"]

[Text] Oil Activity

The Egyptian petroleum sector carried out the following activity in the period July-September 1982:

Crude oil production: Crude oil production in this period came to 8,579,000 tons, as shown below (unit: thousands of metric tons):

Company	July- September 1982	1981	Percent Change	Average Daily Production in September (barrels)
Egyptian General Petro- leum Company	287	294	-2	21,300
The Belayim Oil Company (Petrobel)	1,667	1,530	9	128,700
The Gulf of Suez Oil Company (Gulf of Suez)	5,947	5,475	9	460,700
The Western Desert Oil Company (Western Desert)	113	141	-20	8,900
Shu'ab 'Ali	393	272	44	30,600
The Western Desert Oil Company (WEPCO)	84	90	-7	6,800
Epedeco	74	58	28	5,500
The Shuqayr Offshore Company (OSOCO)	14	8	75	1,100
The Suez Oil Company (SUCO)	—	—	—	—
Total	8,079	7,868	9	663,600

Gas and gas products production: The production of gases in this period came to 574,000 tons, as shown below (unit: thousands of metric tons):

Description	July-September		Percent change
	1981	1982	
1. Gases			
Abu Madi	165	163	1
Abu al-Gharadiq	190	190	—
Abu Qir	117	92	27
Total	472	445	6
2. Condensates			
Abu Madi	22	22	—
Abu al-Gharadiq	48	46	4
Abu Qir	13	10	30
Total	83	78	6
Liquefied gases			
Abu al-Gharadiq	19	18	6
Gulf of Suez	—	—	—
Total	19	18	6
Grand total	574	541	6

#### Refining

Crude treated: The volume of crude treated in refineries in this period came to 4.29 million [tons].

Products: The volume of products produced by refineries came to 4,074,000 tons.

#### Transportation:

1. Coastal transportation: 3.92 million tons of crude oil and 128,000 tons of petroleum products were transported.

2. Pipelines: 3,241,000 tons of crude oil and 1.85 million tons of petroleum products were transported.

3. Other: 2,228,000 tons of oil products were transported by other means of transport (trucks, railway, river units).



Foreign trade:

Exports: The value of oil exports in the abovementioned period came to 506 million pounds.

Imports: The value of oil imports came to 124 million pounds.

Net balance of payments: The balance of payments surplus came to 382 million pounds.

Investments:

The total investments made within the authority and its companies during this period came to 82.5 million pounds.

Consumption:

The computed consumption of main oil products came to 3,632,000 tons.

Computed consumption of petroleum products (unit: thousands of tons)

Description	July-September 1982	July-September 1981	Percentage Change
Bottled butane	109	106	3
Gasoline-naphtha	403	355	14
Kerosene	409	371	10
Heavy fuel oil	848	819	4
Middle distillates — diesel	1,863	1,691	10
Total	3,632	3,342	9

Includes bunkering of Egyptian and foreign ships.

11887

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NEW RATION CARDS, ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA DESCRIBED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 3 Feb 83 p 8

[Article by Muhammad Abu al-Shuhud: "New Ration Cards To Go into Effect Next July 1; 11 Categories of Citizens To Receive Rations 'at a Free, Partially Subsidized Price' "]

[Text] Mr Ahmad Nuh, minister of supply and internal trade issued a ministerial decree regulating the issue of ration cards which will go into effect next July 1. Yellow cards will be issued to 11 categories of citizens who would buy their rations at a free, partially subsidized price. Green cards will be issued to the rest of the citizens who will receive fully subsidized rations. The groups that will receive yellow cards are as follows:

1. Emigrants and people who are loaned and who have contracts to work abroad.
2. Employees of the branches of foreign organizations, authorities and companies and employees of the branches of foreign universities and schools operating in Egypt.
3. Employees of the Arab League, the League of Islamic Nations, embassies, consulates or diplomatic representation offices in Egypt.
4. Employees of companies that are subject to the Investment Law, except those who are employed in supportive services.
5. People who own, together with their spouses and dependent children, more than 10 feddans of agricultural land or fruit orchards, provided that a land tax has been assessed.
6. Those who pay a general income tax and who are not government or public sector employees.
7. Proprietors of commercial stores, tourist establishments and transportation companies.
8. Proprietors of import and export offices, commercial agents, contractors and proprietors of factories and workshops who have permits to practice their profession.

9. People who own private cars: one car or more that has more than four cylinders.
10. Professionals who are members of professional associations and who graduated from a university] more than 15 years ago and are in private practice, even if employed by the government or by the public sector. This includes those who are subject to special cadres.
11. People who own real estate and who receive net rent in excess of 2,000 pounds a year.

The decree gives governors the right to determine the agencies where supplies will be dispensed to ration card holders. These agencies may not issue these supplies to anyone but ration card holders. The decree also included several measures regulating the issue and use of cards. Among these measures is a ban on obtaining more than one ration card; a ban on receiving the rations set for one card from more than one agency; and a ban on listing an individual on more than one card. People may not relinquish their ration cards or turn them over to others, nor may they make any changes in the data recorded on the cards unless this is done by the authorized agencies. The decree requires any person who intends to leave the country for a period that exceeds 6 months to notify the authorized supply administration of his departure so it would stop issuing his rations. When that person applies for reinstatement of his ration allocations, he must provide official documents indicating that he has returned to the country to stay.

Ration card holders who do not meet eligibility conditions will have to apply to the authorized supply office within 30 days of the date these eligibility conditions ceased to exist so that their cards can be cancelled and issue of their rations stopped. They would be issued new cards in accordance with the new status they acquired.

8592

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CRISIS CLAIMED IN ISLAMIC BOOK PUBLISHING

Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 2 Feb 83 p 4

[Article by Mamduh Khalil al-Waliy: "The Crisis of Islamic Books in Egypt"]

[Text] The Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs does not have a printing press.

Islamic book publishing officials say that events of September 1981 affected the publication of Islamic books.

Removal of restrictions on exporting books and reducing customs paid on paper are being demanded.

Why don't we subsidize books just as we subsidize bread?

At the present time Islamic books are the only means available for use in the process of Islamic education. The rest of the media have clearly failed to do their part [in promoting] Islamic education. The roles played by television, the movies, theater, radio and newspapers are limited, and some Islamic magazines are still under orders not to publish.

Nevertheless books have not been spared from restrictions: restrictions have been placed on publishing books, on the content of books and on their distribution. Before an Islamic book can be published, approval must be obtained from al-Azhar and from the Ministry of the Interior.

Also some Islamic book publishers are still shut down. They have been shut down since the events of September. At that time if a religious book were found with a defendant, that was considered evidence that he subscribed to a certain school of thought. This affected the view many families had of books. They feared for their children, and since ownership of such books was considered a crime, these books had to be destroyed or hidden.

Now that matters have calmed down, what is the status of Islamic books in Egypt? What are publishers saying about the status of those books? To what extent have the events of September 1981 affected the publication of Islamic books? What is the truth about statements that books are being forged and printed in Lebanon? What are the most important problems impeding the dissemination of Islamic books? What are the agencies that have to play a major role in solving these problems?

These are numerous questions, and AL-NUR is trying to answer them in this investigative report. It is attempting to find out the starting point from which Egypt

can regain its real role as a leader in disseminating Islamic culture and thought in our contemporary world.

#### Books Are Expensive

Mr Anwar Za'luk, director general of publications at Dar al-Sha'b says, "Islamic books in Egypt are going through a period of their greatest popularity. This is the result of the growth of the Islamic movement and the growth of religious activity in religious groups. It is also the result of the fact that people are coming back to God after being compelled for a period of time to distance themselves from Him. For this, disasters befell them, and they suffered crises and defeats. They had to go back to God so He could help them out of the predicaments and crises which they had brought upon themselves.

"However, religious and non-religious books in Egypt are expensive because paper and printing costs are high and so are wages. We are in a country where people scrounge for bread, and this situation is putting people in a dilemma: do they buy bread or do they read a high-priced book?

"Religious books are not subsidized although bread is. Just as physical hunger must be satisfied, [so must we satisfy our intellectual hunger], for man does not live by bread alone. I am saying that it is the poor people who read. Rich people, however, acquire books as though they were artifacts with which to decorate their homes."

#### People Who Buy and Read Books

Wahbah Hasan Wahbah, owner of Wahbah Publishing House agrees that Muslim readers are poor. "Accordingly, prices of Islamic books must be reduced so that people who really read these books can afford to buy them. In recent days we've had people buying books; they bought these books not to read them, but to use them to decorate their homes. They have a place for a library in their homes, and they use the books for decoration. These buyers who do not read the books, are not concerned about book prices. They are interested in the appearance and shape of books because they buy them for decoration. Islamic book publishers do not count on such buyers, but they do count on the readers of Islamic books who are Muslims. These Muslims do not accept bribes; they do not steal; and they do not have any ill-gotten gains. Their incomes are limited to their salaries, and if a book is expensive and they cannot buy it, the price of the book becomes an obstacle that keeps them from acquiring it."

'Abbas al-Halabi, authorized representative of the Publishers' Association complains about the restrictions imposed on exporting books. [He says that] local sales do not cover the cost of printing and publishing a book. Mr al-Halabi says, "We used to print 10,000 copies of a book. At the present time if we were to print 3,000 copies, it would take us 5 years to sell them. We are suffering from the present restrictions on exporting books. When things were most tight and restrictions on foreign currency dealings were most strict, books were exempt from the condition of having to recover their value from abroad in foreign currency. Then toward the end of the sixties the state stipulated that revenues from book exports were to be recovered in 5 years. In 1976 the law exempted revenues from book exports from the time condition. With the enactment of this

law the cultural movement flourished for a while. Then Decree Number 34 for 1980 was issued: it stipulated that the value of exported books be recovered in only 3 years. Currency control filed reports against book exporters with the financial and commercial affairs prosecutor because these exporters did not recover the revenues from their exports in 3 years from the date of shipping. As a publisher I have not exported a single book since this decree was issued. It is being said that allowing books to be exported freely would be a way to smuggle. We are saying that ever since these restrictions were issued, the export revenues of publishers in Egypt have been 3 million [pounds]. It is my opinion that these 3 million would be no loss when compared with the publicity that would be created abroad by Egyptian culture."

#### The Ministry of Culture Is Uncooperative

Mahmud Muhammad al-Ziyadi, owner of Dar al-Zahra' adds, "At the present time forgery has become legal. After the Lebanese forged books which were printed in Egypt in the last century and until 1960, Egyptians began playing the same game after the value of the [Egyptian] pound fell against the [Lebanese] pound and importing [books] became difficult. Egyptians began copying Lebanon's books, and matters became confusing. We, the bookshop owners, are suffering from a depression [in our trade]. [Only] 20 percent of the printed copies of the most successful book are sold, and sometimes less than that. The remaining copies then are stored in a warehouse. People's purchasing power is limited. In the fifties books were sold for 15 piasters, but now these books are sold for 1 pound or for 1 pound and a half. Books are the first [commodities] to be affected in a depression and the last to be affected by a recovery. Books are not a consumer product that people need to have at all times.

"We want the Ministry of Culture to cooperate with publishers and to publish popular series of books at reasonable prices. We also hope that publishers' paper rations be restored. These paper rations were dispensed by the Rakta [Paper] Company to publishers when they published books. We are also asking thinkers who can contact officials to make the subject of books a personal and a national issue."

#### The Content of Religious Books Is Adapted and Redundant

The owner of Dar al-Mushaf for the Distribution of Islamic Books says this about the content of Islamic books: "Unfortunately, there is nothing new in Islamic books. There has been no new research, and most of the books, even bound volumes, are adapted from old ones. Although [these new books] simplify matters, they are merely individual opinions that bring nothing new to light. [The authors of these books] take material from here; put it there; and declare themselves authors. Who has the time that al-Jahiz had to write a book?"

Anwar Za'luk, director general of publications at al-Sha'b Publishing House agrees that thinkers, researchers and editors are not to be found because payments to authors, editors and researchers are insignificant and do not enable them to make ends meet. An author finds it easier to write a cheap and trivial series for television, which he would sell for thousands of pounds, than to edit or author a serious book for which he would receive a mere pittance!"

## The Publishers' Association Is Almost Dead

People who are engaged in publishing books concur in their complaint that the Publishers' Association is not fulfilling its duty: it has not met in 3 years. "Some uneducated people have gone into publishing, and there is a difference between an educated publisher and a book salesman. Publishers are also hurt by the fact that cultural agencies do not cooperate with them despite the fact that the state takes 33 copies at no charge of everything that is printed. At the same time a country like England provides an annual assistance for books. Here, however, taxes are imposed on books even though there are more than 70 publishers in Egypt, and none of them is a millionaire."

## Books and the September Events

Publishers also agree that the sale of Islamic books was greatly affected by the events of September 1981. Books constitute incriminating evidence that young people belong to a certain group. Accordingly, the presence of these books in their homes became burdensome, and they were not able to buy new books. Publishers agree that young people are the ones who buy most Islamic books. They are asking that the atmosphere be cleared so young people can go back to buying books with the same enthusiasm and without fear.

## Advertisements Increase Sales

Muhammad Hilmi 'Id, director of the Artistic Office in the al-Akhbar Sales [Department] confirms that sales of religious books were low after the events of September.

Mr 'Id says that sales figures for religious books are higher than for any other kind of books, particularly outside cities. "However, this will differ from one book to another, and it will depend on the author, the price, the cover, the printing and the advertising." Mr 'Id emphasizes the role of advertising, especially television advertising, in increasing sales. "The sales figures we achieved for al-Shaykh al-Sha'rawi's book, "Mu'jizah al-Qur'an" [The Miracle of the Koran] were not achieved by anyone else: we sold over half a million copies of the various editions and volumes of this book."

## Brisk Seasons for Books

Publishers agree that the sale of religious books is brisk at two times: during the month of Ramadan and [the period of] the International Book Fair. This is not enough.

AL-NUR was astounded by the fact that the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs does not have its own printing press for its publications. The council has its publications printed [commercially by] any publisher. The council has 23 edited book manuscripts that have been waiting for 10 years to be printed. This was stated by 'Abd-al-'Azim Muluk, general director of publications at the council. Mr Muluk complains about [the council's] low budget which is sufficient for printing four books only even though the council's role is to explain Islam to people by using the written and the spoken word. We are even selling a small copy of the Koran for 3 pounds and an annotated copy for 10 pounds.

From the Heritage Confirmation Center at the Public Authority for Books Muhammad Kamil Shihatah, general director of the center says, "The authority is in the process of establishing a Public Administration for Islamic Studies. The authority would thus have two branches for Islamic studies: the Heritage Center, which publishes reports and publications that have to do with the heritage; and the Public Administration for Islamic Studies which will publish contemporary Islamic books. There is a plan to publish series of Islamic studies at cost."

8592

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# BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON EGYPTIAN ECONOMICS PERSONALITY

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 28 Dec 82 p 3

/Article by Khayriyah Khaysi: "New Egyptian Deputy to the President of the World Bank"/

/Text/ Two days ago, Dr Ibrahim Shahatah, the new deputy to the president of the World Bank, arrived from Vienna. Tomorrow he will go to Luxor and Aswan to spend a short, tourist holiday with a group of friends, who accompanied him from abroad.

The selection of Dr Ibrahim Shahatah to assume this "prominent international post," as those who know describe it, raises more than one question. First of all, who is Ibrahim Shahatah and what makes him qualified from this important international post?

"For more than 6 years, I have been encountering the name of Ibrahim Shahatah." My interlocutor is one of our experts in the international arena. He was talking about the problems that burden our country. He said: "You have a young Egyptian who works in Vienna for OPEC," the Organization of Petroleum Exporters.

His name recently became prominent in some columns on the front pages of our newspapers, on the occasion of his selection for his new post. If his share in our press was no more than these few columns, the reverse was true with regard to the foreign press. The copious articles which appeared indicated that he was one of those, as they say in English, in "the big leagues." The closest translation of this is the "big federation." It means a group of international experts or anyone who is considered knowledgeable in his special field, especially in financial and economic circles.

## 45 Years Old

Dr Ibrahim Shahatah celebrated his 45th birthday this year. In the "big leagues" he is considered a youth, with regard to his new international post. He is a new face to the Egyptian media, but he is an old hand with mutual parties in expanded meetings held in the Foreign Ministry, to discuss Egyptian rights in the Taba area, by virtue of the fact that he is an international authority pertaining to the meaning of secure boundaries, the card that Israel shows to the Western World at all peace conferences. Whenever the situation

calls for benefiting from his expertise in international law, his advice is given by virtue of the fact that he is a competent authority in this field, which dominates relations of countries of the world among themselves. He has a number of books and articles, most of which have appeared in various languages. There is no way to list them here. He is also considered by international scientific circles to be a principal authority, especially, in international economic law.

#### Road Signs

The period of time that he spent at Harvard University was extended, so that he could do the graduate work that he had begun in Cairo. He obtained several academic degrees, all of them with honors.

He then launched his career, on a road that was clearly marked. He began in the academic-scientific field, and then switched over to the legal corps. When he left Egypt to enter the financial and economic field, he blended his expertise in international law with the equations of international economics, so that he became an authority in international economics. Thanks to an opportunity that was afforded him in Kuwait, the government of Kuwait granted him a Kuwaiti passport, but allowing him to keep his Egyptian nationality.

He worked as an advisor to the Kuwaiti Fund for Development, attending on its behalf many financial conferences. When he shone in the international fields, OPEC grabbed him, and he settled down in their headquarters in Vienna, Austria.

#### Reform of the Financial Structure

The name of Dr Ibrahim Shahatah will continue to be associated with OPEC, and it is also associated with the Third World. Because of his presence and participation in establishing OPEC's Development Fund, it made him its president. It was established following the increase in oil prices in 1976. He formulated and defined the goals of the fund basically to develop the resources of the Third World, and to offer financial and economic assistance to it.

It gained financial credits from America and another international financial organization. Its assets jumped to \$2 billion, but its goal was \$20 billion. With this outside money, it gained an international flavor, instead of being an integral part of OPEC, and thereby, achieved two principal goals, the sharing of the western industrial nations in responsibility for developing the Third World, and giving the organization an international identity, which included a kind of self independence. Consequently, it gave it speed of movement and decision-making in granting Third World nations (beneficiaries) investments and assistance. This strategy is considered the essence of this policy, i.e., connecting the interests of the western industrialized nations, who are granting the aid or the loans, to the beneficiary countries from the Third World.

A financial organization for agricultural growth was an offshoot of this fund, in order to solve the food crisis that is expanding throughout the emerging nations.

#### A Call for A New Economic Order

That was accomplished by Dr Ibrahim Shahatah. It is well known that he has called for a "new economic system."

He is undertaking a campaign in all the wealthy countries to declare that there is a way to escape from the crisis of inflation and economic stagnation, from which these countries are suffering. It is through the development of Third World resources, in order to achieve economic justice in the world. He also resolutely tells the Third World nations that "your poverty and your social, economic and political crises are of your own making. First, fulfill your obligations toward yourselves, in order to establish that you are deserving of international assistance and investments."

#### Conclusion

I hope that this column has clarified the features of this public advisor and new deputy to the president of the World Bank and the Organization for International Development, who will assume the duties of his new post in June of next year. He can now be found storing up and enjoying the sunshine of Luxor and Aswan, so that after spending the holidays, he can return to the coldness of statistics and economic averages.

7005

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EGYPT

POLLUTED DRINKING WATER    BIG PROBLEM FOR UPPER EGYPT

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 30 Jan 83 p 11

[Article by Muwaffaq Abu al-Nil]

[Text] Report with Pictures and Figures for Presentation to the Prime Minister

One Third of the Inhabitants of the Villages of the Governorates of Southern Upper Egypt Have Not Yet Been Reached by Clean Drinking Water

The Governorate of Aswan Has Paid 800,000 Pounds to the Ministry of Housing to Buy Filtration Stations, But Has Received Nothing!!

There is no doubt that supplying clean drinking water to the homes of the citizens in the governorates of Egypt is at the head of the list of projects which the state is striving to achieve. The government confirms from time to time the need to intensify efforts in this regard on the level of all the villages, or rather on the level of the rural settlements, hamlets and small villages as well, believing as it does that every citizen deserves to live a life of dignity. Thus, Councilor 'Adil 'Abd al-Baqi, minister of state for administrative development, witnessed blunt discussions on this topic during the broad meeting held in the city of Aswan to study the problems of the province of Southern Lower Egypt, which contains four governorates: Aswan, Qana, Sohaj and the Red Sea.

What happened in this meeting?

At the start, Major General Ahmad Shawqi al-Matini, the governor of Aswan stood in his capacity as president of the province of Southern Upper Egypt and said that the major problem the province's four governorates were suffering from was an insufficiency in the supply of drinking water. He said that official reports confirm that approximately 35 percent of the province's villages are still without clean drinking water, and that the inhabitants of these villages still depend in their daily lives on canal water.

Major Shawqi al-Matini added the governorate of Aswan had taken the initiative and decided to attack this problem and solve it in stages by using water filtration units which are easy to set up and use. It contracted with the Ministry of Housing last June to purchase 13 new units. The governorate

itself undertook in fact to pay and provide the sum of 800,000 pounds for this purpose, 300,000 of which were in foreign currency. Despite the passage of more than six months after the signing of the contract and the entreaties of governorate to the Ministry of Housing to supply the units, the filters have to this day not arrived in the governorate. Bureaucratic routine blocked the project. I myself have seen during my visits to al-Midaniya the suffering of the citizens and how they drink impure water. The governor then presented a group of pictures.

Ahmad 'Abd al-'Al, president of the popular council of the Aswan governorate, said that it had been decided to put the pumps to work this month as part of the celebration of the governorate's local holiday.

Concerning the reason for the delay in the delivery of the filtration units, Engineer Hasan Abayazid, director of housing, said: "These are two types of filters. The first kind is made of plastic, and the ministry insists on supplying it. However, we refused to do so this time because the high temperatures in Aswan would cause the plastic to degenerate and adversely affect the use of the filter. As for the second kind, its design differs from that of the first."

"We tested it for ten years in Aswan and the test succeeded. At this point, Aswan stuck to its opinion and the ministry insisted on supplying the other type of filter."

At this point, Councilor 'Adil 'Abd al-Baqi, minister of affairs for the cabinet and minister of state for administrative development, said that the drinking water problem is one of the important problems to which the state is dedicating its interest. Further, the state gives it priority over other projects. He said it was unreasonable for the arrival of these filtration units to be held up for a period of six months, since the instructions of Dr Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din, the prime minister, to the ministers and officials in every location are frank and clear: bureaucratic inefficiency is to be eliminated so that no stumbling block will stand in the way of providing basic services to the citizens of Egypt.

The minister announced that he would prepare a detailed report with pictures and figures to be presented to the prime minister, so that he would take whatever urgent measures he might consider appropriate to solve the drinking water problem and quickly deliver the filtration units to Aswan, in order to achieve the government's policy of solving the citizens' problems.

12224

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CRIME STATISTICS FOR 1982 RELEASED

Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic 1 Jan 83 p 12

/Article by Badr al-Alfi: "Despite Difficult Conditions Faced by Security Last Year, Crime Rates Have Dropped Between 16 and 45 Percent"/

/Text/ Crime in Egypt Has Retreated. During the past 10 years, its rates have dropped 47 percent, a percentage that has not occurred in the most advanced nations of the world. Last year, crimes of intimidation declined 45 percent, embezzlement 30 percent, premeditated murder 16 percent, resistance to authority 16 percent, robbery 9 percent, rape 9 percent, residential and commercial robbery 35 percent, cattle robbery 18 percent, and pickpocket crimes 19 percent. The security forces have seized 56,618 kilograms of narcotics, and 2,967,691 pounds which were being smuggled abroad, along with 37,882 supply cases. Moreover, 27,681 firearms were confiscated.

This was published in the new report of Public Security, which was submitted by Major General Husayn al-Samahi, assistant minister of the interior and director of the Public Security Agency, to Hasan Abu Pasha, the minister of interior. The report included all types of crime and statistics, rates of decline and increase and the efforts of the men of Public Security to bolster security in the country.

Maj Gen Husayn al-Samahi says that there has been a considerable decrease in crime. Regarding crimes of premeditated murder, there were 914 cases in 1981, which fell to 772, a decrease of 16 percent. Assaults resulting in death were 249, dropping to 236, a decline of 5 percent. Rapes declined to 128, a drop of 9 percent, intimidation dropped from 64 to 35, a percentage of 45 percent, robbery from 172 to 157, 9 percent drop, embezzlement from 100 to 70, a drop of 30 percent. Return to crime went from 5 to 0, a 100 percent drop. Resisting authority and riotous assembly fell from 32 to 27 cases, a drop of 16 percent. In the field of robbery, the Public Security report states that residential robbery fell 15 percent. Whereas 3059 incidents of robbery occurred in 1980, they fell to 2605 cases. There were 1288 robberies of merchants which declined to 124, a 20 /sic/ percent decline. Cattle theft went from 185 to 152, an 18 percent drop. Pickpocket cases dropped 16 percent. There 2299 cases in 1980, which dropped to 1853 incidents in 1981.

The official report to Hasan Abu Pasha, the minister of interior, also included crimes that increased in percentage, such as automotive theft, since the

police received 939 reports of auto theft compared to 766, an increase of 23 percent. Despite the fact that most of the stolen cars were seized, the theft of such a large number of cars is attributable to citizens leaving their cars unlocked on the street.

As for assault, leading to physical impairment, 165 incidents occurred compared with 153, for an increase of 8 percent. Willfull arson went from 26 cases to 38, an increase of 6 percent, and there were 7 cases of crop damage compared with 5, while there were 6 cases of using means of transportation dangerously, compared with one case in 1981.

Crimes of bribery also increased 14 percent, increasing from 56 to 64 cases. The crime of forging official documents and stamps increased 9 percent, going from 141 to 154. Forging banknotes increased 600 percent, going from 1 to 7 cases. All this is attributable to increased police activity in fighting this type of crime.

Because of the seriousness of arms being carried by those who violate the law, and because of the harmful effects of narcotics on production, and because greedy dealers are being struck with a fist of iron, and the enormous resources that Hasan Abu Pasha has given to the police to combat these crimes, 27,681 unlicensed firearms were seized, including 430 machine guns, 238 automatic rifles, 2298 rifles and the remainder were revolvers and pistols.

There were also 37,882 supply cases settled, including increasing prices, concealment of goods from the people, and not marking the price on goods.

As regards narcotics, 56,618 kilograms were seized of hashhish, opium and harmful narcotic pills, which could be damaging to the lives of our citizens.

Maj Gen Husayn al-Samahi stated that the efforts of the police, under the direct supervision of Maj Gen Faruq al-Hayni, the first assistant to the minister of interior for security, had been able to save nearly 2 million pounds, which was being smuggled abroad mostly in foreign currency.

They also arrested 537 tax evaders, including 55 glaring cases, in which those accused paid millions of pounds that had been lost to the government.

Despite the difficult circumstances and challenges that the police faced last year, because of the attempts by certain elements to disrupt the domestic front, through aggression, intimidation, explosions, murder and the acquisition of arms of all types, and the occurrence of the violent death of the late president Anwar al-Sadat, despite all this and the attacks against the security forces that accompanied them, the police did not leave the field open to those who violate the law and who tried to exploit these difficult times.

Despite the difficulty of apprehending law violators, including those who have been sentenced to prison or fined for felonies or misdemeanors, the Interior Ministry's forces were able to arrest 8,745 fugitives from felonies, including 919 who were attempting to flee the country. They also seized

29 prisoners who had been able to escape from jails and penitentiaries. Moreover, 690,000 fugitives from misdemeanors were apprehended. As regards fugitives from paying fines in misdemeanors, such as municipal, utilities, traffic and morals incidents, 2,183,118 fugitives were seized, who were made to pay their fines to the government or their victims.

7005

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APPROACHES TO REMEDY ENGINEERS' PROBLEM DISCUSSED

Pros, Cons of Mandatory Service

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3043, 4 Feb 83 pp 26-31

[Article by Marahah Hilal and Ghali Muhammad]

[Text] It doesn't make sense for Egypt to pay the cost of educating engineers and then turn them over after they graduate to investment projects and foreign markets.

The shortage in engineers that we had in the sixties was due to the strong interest in industrialization; the shortage in the seventies is caused by the collapse of industry.

In the time of the open-door policy plumbers and construction workers have become more socially valuable than engineers.

The restoration of mandatory service would be a partial solution that we would turn to under duress.

The departure of engineers has turned our factories into training centers.

There is an important memorandum from the Ministry of Housing on the desk of Prime Minister Dr Fu'ad Muhi al-Din. The memorandum calls for the restoration of mandatory service for engineers, which was abolished 7 years ago. This is a critical time for 130,000 engineers and 60,000 engineering students at different colleges of engineering: their lives are filled with worry and apprehension.

Everyone is waiting for the important decision.

The decision would reopen the file on mandatory service for engineers in Egypt. Why was it abolished? Why is it being restored? To answer these two questions and any other pertinent ones that may be raised, one has to look into the case of engineers in Egypt. There is a long list of problems about which Egyptian engineers worry. These problems are raising numerous questions about the concerns and problems engineers have in industry, production, reconstruction, utilities, energy and the environment.

AL-MUSAWWAR's search for the facts among all parties [concerned in this matter] has been provocative. Many new matters about professional issues and concerns and about charges that are being made against Egyptian engineers [were uncovered].

Why should we have mandatory service, and who is responsible for the decline of engineering in the past 10 years?

As in any other profession the concerns, problems, aspirations and accomplishments of engineering accurately reflect the concerns, problems and achievements of their societies. In recent years the conditions of engineering and engineers have been affected by problems and questions about planning, development and production that Egyptian society has had to deal with. The truth is that the call for the restoration of mandatory service for engineers demonstrates the fact that these problems are getting worse and that many policies have to be seriously thought about and reconsidered.

Mandatory service for engineers was begun in the mid fifties when Law Number 296 for 1956 was issued. This law remained in effect for 20 years and was repealed in 1976 by Law Number 54.

Dr 'Abd-al-'Alim Sulayman, former professor of engineering at Cairo University and adviser to the Ministry of Manpower had this to say about conditions that made mandatory service [for engineers] necessary; conditions that justified abolishing it; and conditions that justify its restoration:

"Mandatory service for engineers came into the picture for the first time in the mid fifties with the movement for broad industrialization and construction that was carried out by the state at that time. It came into the picture also when the state began to turn toward planning. If planning meant organizing and mobilizing the state's resources and capabilities to achieve specific economic and social objectives, then mandatory service was part [of the process of] organizing human resources to meet the requirements of the plan and face shortages that existed in some of the disciplines that were in demand. The need for mandatory service grew with the rise and expansion of the public sector in the sixties, both in the capital and in the governorates. In the seventies, however, mandatory service became a burden to the state as development efforts diminished, rates of industrial expansion dwindled and the number of engineers graduating every year from schools of engineering increased. The state did not really need the thousands of engineers who were graduating every year. During the years of their mandatory service engineers were confined to semi-administrative and bureaucratic work. The fact that restrictions on the private sector and on investment projects for Arab and foreign capital were relaxed made it necessary that the law of supply and demand be allowed to operate freely in the market so that the need for engineers in private projects could be met. Also the fact that wages for engineers working for the state were low compared with wages for engineers in the private sector and the fact that incentives were being offered for working in Arab countries compelled new agencies to apply pressure to repeal mandatory service for engineers and make it possible for engineers to make their own employment arrangements freely and without state interference. In recent years, however, as many of our conditions and problems were dealt with spontaneously, according to market considerations and supply and demand, without any planning or regulation whatsoever, numerous disturbances and congestions began to appear. Some engineering disciplines that were in demand in the private sector became very scarce. On the other hand there was unemployment in some of the disciplines that were not in demand in the market. The state, its facilities and its centers of production were now hiring engineers who were not needed by the private sector and the Arab countries, and the state began suffering from a shortage of

engineers. For example, there was a 70 percent shortage of engineers in the governorate of Cairo because engineers were resigning from their jobs either to travel abroad or to accept employment in the private sector. The Ministry of Housing is also suffering from the fact that different positions for civil engineers are vacant. It was this that compelled the Ministry of Housing in particular to submit a memorandum to the prime minister asking that mandatory service for engineers be restored. In return, the ministry asked that those engineers be exempted from military service, that their wages be increased and that they be given bonuses of up to 1 percent of the volume of business they supervise.

"I believe that the tendency to restore mandatory service is a sound one. The state, or more correctly the people, who spend millions of pounds to educate engineers and non engineers in Egypt are entitled to benefit from the knowledge and effort of their citizens, even for a limited number of years. It doesn't make sense for the state to spend these large sums of money educating and preparing engineers only to have them lured by high wages to investment projects and foreign markets without offering their country and their people any service to speak of. However, the restoration of mandatory service for engineers will remain lacking unless it is linked with two other very important steps. The first step is that of raising engineers' wages. It would be impossible for an engineer to serve his country sincerely and effectively if he feels that he is being unfairly treated and wronged and that his wages are not helping him make ends meet. The second step is to link mandatory service to the plans that are being made for the Egyptian economy and for industrial expansion. It would be totally objectionable to force engineers into mandatory service only to have them do administrative or bureaucratic work because there are no industrial, productive and construction projects where their knowledge, energy and contributions can be utilized."

Yes to Mandatory Service, but...

Engineer Musa Sadiq, chairman of the board of (RIGWA) Company for ground water, a public sector company, had this to say about the effect the scarcity of engineers has had on the problems and conditions of the public sector and the extent to which the restoration of mandatory service for engineers can remedy these problems:

"Most public sector companies are suffering from a severe shortage of engineers. There is a shortage in the number of engineers and in the disciplines that are in demand. The (RIGWA) Company for ground water, for example, has a 30 percent shortage of engineers that is caused by emigration and by engineers who leave the country to work abroad. We must first admit that the Egyptian engineer is justified: he has to leave the country. If the simplest conditions for guaranteeing him a decent life were made available, he would not leave his country. He would not choose alienation and living away from his homeland no matter what the financial incentives were.

"I agree with [the notion] that the restoration of mandatory service will remedy the shortage and the lack of engineers in the state and the public sector. I do not disagree with the notion that mandatory service is a national duty. However, when we make a young engineer work for the state and the public sector for several years, we have to face his problems and fully understand his legitimate demands. [At the same time] we have to deal with everything that keeps him from

working and producing and prods him to stay away from the public sector. The matter is not confined to a mere increase in wages and an increase in the percentage of bonuses. Instead, the problems of engineers in general must be solved, and the conditions of their work must be improved. These working conditions are sometimes inhuman, particularly in the hazardous disciplines, such as mechanical engineering, or in remote areas in the case of land reclamation. In order for us to be candid, we have to admit that contributions by engineers, despite their sincerity and their patriotism, will continue to be subject to solving their problems. How can a young engineer produce, create and develop [projects] when he is homeless? [How can he serve] when he cannot afford to provide for his family from his wages which are no more than 60 or 70 pounds or when he is threatened by poor working conditions?

"A young engineer is full of hope when he graduates from college. Professionally he is full of hope that he will become a specialized professional, and he hopes he will lead a decent life as a human being. But he clashes with the real world which prevents him from realizing both of his hopes. This forces him to flee the country or to flee to the private sector. Despite all the problems involved in that solution, that solution at least provides him a high wage.

"I am therefore saying that it is a necessity and a matter of national duty that we restore mandatory service, provided that we provide engineers with the conditions that would enable them to work, produce and make a contribution."

Engineer Musa Sadiq added, "The hot debate around the restoration of mandatory service for engineers makes me wonder why we have mandatory service for engineers only! Aren't engineers a segment of the professional manpower we have, and don't we have a shortage in all professional disciplines? Why do we allow plumbers, blacksmiths, technical foremen and construction workers the freedom to travel and work abroad and why do we deny engineers the same freedom? Restricting mandatory service to engineers will not solve the problem. It will create a phenomenon that is no less dangerous than that of scarce engineers.

"The manpower shortage among craftsmen is gradually causing engineers to replace craftsmen. It is forcing engineers to perform work that is actually a waste of all the education and preparation they had received. There is nothing new about telling an Egyptian engineer that he will have to do the work that technical foremen do: he will actually do the work or supervise its execution. He would do this at the expense of his principal role of designing and planning."

#### Unemployment among Engineers

Engineer Mustafa 'Isa of Arab Contractors had this to say about the effect of mandatory service on the employment market in Egypt. "We have unemployment now among engineers in many disciplines as a result of the fact that the Arab employment market and the local private sector are encouraged to hire Egyptian engineers to meet their needs. This has affected the stability of salaries; and sometimes it caused the reduction of salaries, particularly with the lack of industrial expansion in both the public or private sector. It is to be noted that the restoration of mandatory service will change the employment market. There will be distinct raises in salaries for engineers. Unless the state solves the problems of young engineers, raises their salaries and expands industrial

projects, mandatory service for engineers will not yield the results that are being hoped for. An engineer who is doing his mandatory service will become a carbon copy of a government engineer: he will be negligent, slack, bureaucratic and lacking conviction in the work he is doing."

#### Why Do Engineers Emigrate?

A discussion about the restoration of mandatory service compels us to deal with the concerns and problems of engineering in Egypt. It is known that the history of modern Egyptian engineering goes back to 1820 when Muhammad 'Ali founded the School of Engineering, which was located in the present district of al-Qal'ah. At first, the engineering profession was linked with the Nile River and with regulating irrigation water. It was about 78 years ago, however, that Egypt came to know for the first time the disciplines of modern engineering. This happened when the first Department of Irrigation was founded in the School of Engineering in 1905. Ever since then numerous other engineering disciplines have been set up. Most recently instruction in medical engineering was begun in Egypt a few years ago.

There is no doubt that engineering has been one of those professions most affected by the condition, the course and the problems of the Egyptian economy. This is because engineering is a profession closely connected to production, development and industry."

Dr Muhammad Qutb, professor of engineering at Cairo University said this about the characteristics of the engineering profession in Egypt in the sixties and the seventies.

"In the seventies there was mass migration from the public sector to the private sector and to the Arab countries because of the crisis that Egypt's industry was experiencing during those years. This crisis was such that we would have to say that Egyptian industry lost 10 years of its life. In fact some of its achievements were being threatened because of the problems of the public sector, the decline of development and the lack of planning. This was severely reflected on the engineering profession and its various disciplines. It was also reflected on Egyptian engineers. In the past years, for example, the popularity of mechanical and electrical engineering among engineering students has declined, and the popularity of construction and civil engineering has grown significantly. This has been particularly true since the economic open-door policy was established, with local and foreign capital being favorably inclined to engage in contracting and construction work because of the huge profits and rapid returns that can be realized from such investments and the limited amount of capital that has to be invested [in such projects], compared with industrial projects. If the economic open-door policy has played a major role in encouraging commercial investments at the expense of industrial investments, it also affected the engineering profession. In the seventies scores of commercial engineering offices were established. These offices imported engineering machines and devices from the world market, and they did so without any supervision, controls or ties. Besides, these offices did not have the necessary means for maintaining these imported devices, nor did they have the engineering expertise that can determine what is suitable for Egypt and what is not. This situation turned the Egyptian market into an area where aging and slow-moving machines and devices in the world market would be sold.



Besides, this situation hurt the national economy because large amounts of money in hard currency were wasted and no real benefit urgently needed by society was gained."

Dr Muhammad Qutb had this to say about the condition of engineering in the sixties: "Before 1952 and until the end of the fifties there was a surplus of engineers. During the sixties, however, as the state turned toward industrialization and development, Egypt in general and the centers of industrial production in particular suffered from a major shortage of engineers because there was a strong demand for them. This had a major effect on the fact that the disciplines of mechanical and electrical engineering, which are primarily industrial disciplines, became increasingly popular with students."

#### Supply and Demand for Engineers

In recent years some people have spoken out and asked that the number of students admitted to colleges of engineering be reduced. They claimed that there was obvious unemployment among engineers in some disciplines for which there was no demand in the market. Dr Sa'id al-Nisha'i, associate professor of engineering at Cairo University had this to say about unemployment among engineers, about the reasons for this phenomenon and how it can be remedied.

"There is an obvious imbalance between supply and demand in some of the disciplines. It is this that had caused the obvious unemployment among a considerable number of sectors of engineers. An opinion has been expressed recently as a request that this phenomenon be remedied by [reducing] the number of students who are admitted every year in colleges of engineering. The problem here is that this opinion assumes that the imbalance is the result of a large supply and not the result of the insufficiency and decline in demand. Unemployment among engineers, particularly in the industrial disciplines is the result of the absence of planning and development. It is a result of damage that has been done to Egyptian industry as a result of the growing reliance on importing most of what we need instead of producing these things locally. It is a result of the fact that we have not been expanding our heavy industry, which represents the foundation upon which any other industries can be built. What is even more dangerous is the fact that some existing industries are being subjected to unfair competition with their imported counterparts, particularly with regard to customs protection.

"In the chemical industries, for example, the state imposes customs fees on imported dyes that are ready to use. These fees are no more than 15 percent. However, customs fees on production requirements for producing these dyes locally are as high as 35 percent. This puts imports in a more favorable position at the expense of production, and it compels us to call again for what Tal'at Harb used to call for 50 years ago: protecting national industry.

"Investment laws have also had a negative effect on Egyptian engineering. Although some engineers have benefited financially from the fact that salaries in investment projects are high, these laws have actually caused the professional and technical standards of engineers to decline. They have turned engineers from professionals who specialize in a certain engineering discipline into engineering salesmen in engineering commercial agencies which have become widespread because

people with capital are turning to commercial investments and away from industrial investments. Even most of the limited industrial projects that were established in past years relied on contracts made with foreign companies to provide scientific expertise and technological equipment on a turnkey basis. In addition to the danger it presents to the national economy and national industry, this method has eliminated the role of the Egyptian engineer not only in the process of developing local technology, but also in the process of assimilating the secrets of imported technology and acquiring the ability to deal with it either by mastering it, developing it or maintaining it. What is even more serious than that is the fact that this method adds prestige to everything that is foreign and denigrates everything that is native or local. Egyptian engineers have therefore felt frustrated and defeated because their roles have been replaced by those played by foreign experts or engineers who are not any better than they are. Quite the contrary foreign engineers lack knowledge of the material world in Egypt, and they lack an understanding of Egypt's conditions and needs."

Dr al-Nisha'i added, "The predicament that Egyptian industry and the Egyptian economy in general are experiencing is forcing engineers who have recently graduated to make difficult choices: either work in the public sector or in government at a salary that is no more than 60 pounds, or work in the private sector or travel to work abroad and receive more than 10 times the salaries they would receive in the public sector.

"Unfortunately, the departure of engineers from the country to work abroad has become a very serious phenomenon because it has turned many of our factories into training centers which young engineers join to acquire the experience they need to work abroad. I believe there is an urgent need to remedy the problems of government and public sector engineers, particularly the problem of salaries. It doesn't make sense for a young engineer to be paid 60 or 70 pounds in these successive waves of high prices. One may wonder how we can increase engineers' salaries when many of the public sector companies are continuing to lose money? I would respond to that question by saying that the plants and production units of the public sector must be operated on an economic and not on a social basis. This means that these companies, like any unit of production in the world, are not to use their profits to pay for the burdens of subsidy, provided that the state assumes the burdens of this subsidy from the taxes it collects."

#### Erroneous Beginnings

The problems of Egyptian engineers do not begin after they graduate as has been customary. These problems rather begin when students enroll in colleges of engineering. Dr Sa'id al-Nisha'i had this to say about this matter:

"Engineering education in Egypt is still totally unrelated to society. The courses that are taught have nothing to do with the condition, the problems and the needs of industry in Egypt. These courses are also extremely outdated and are not keeping up with scientific progress in the world; they are developed and changed only once about every 10 years. Besides, the vast majority of them are copied verbatim from courses taught in some advanced western countries despite the differences in circumstances and needs. Practical training for students is also neglected to an astonishing degree; laboratories and workshops are neglected

and unequipped. The few machines that are there are only good as museum pieces because they are old and inaccurate. Engineering students also do not get any practical and applied training at production sites despite the fact that engineers needed by a developing country like Egypt must have had a considerable amount of practical training in addition to learning the theoretical courses. Because of the condition of industry, because of the technological backwardness we have and because of the lack of highly trained professional workers, engineers are required to play a major practical role at the sites of production. In this they are unlike European engineers whose roles are almost confined to design and research due to technological progress on the one hand and the abundance of specialized technical workers on the other.

"What is even worse is that engineering professors themselves who teach at universities lack practical and applied experience in their engineering disciplines. They have become transmitters of theories and abstract knowledge and have no close contact whatsoever with the real world and its problems. Therefore I think there is an urgent need for forming a joint committee of engineering professors and industrialists. The function of that committee would be to link engineering education with the real world and with the problems and needs of Egyptian industry with regard to the courses that are taught, scientific research or practical and applied training at production sites. This committee is to have the actual authority to make and carry out decisions."

#### The Engineer and the Graduate

Dr Hasan Fahmi, professor of engineering at Cairo University thinks that the decline of engineering education is caused by the fact that there is a major difference between an engineer and a graduate of a school of engineering. The practical experience of the latter is so weak that he cannot work as an engineer right after he graduates. Dr Fahmi had this to say about this curious situation:

"Engineering education in Egypt began to decline in 1967 when colleges of engineering began to suffer as the number of students grew and resources and laboratory equipment remained constant. This situation affected the standards and practical experience of engineering school graduates. In addition, industrial institutes were turned into colleges of engineering even though they had originally been established to train technical foremen who would serve as liaison between engineers and workers. The course of study at these institutes was 3 years: 1 year for theoretical education and 2 years for practical training. But this was increased to 5 years; no real changes or developments in the courses of study were made; and no [additional] faculty members were provided. As a result it was no longer possible to determine who was an engineer and who was a technical foreman. I believe therefore that there is an urgent need to have graduates of colleges of engineering go through a period of practical training for at least 1 year after completing their course of study. The association of engineers is to assume responsibility for organizing training periods as a condition for practicing the profession. This would follow the example of what takes place in all advanced industrial countries where obtaining a bachelor's degree or even a doctorate degree is not considered a standard for practicing the profession. Completing the periods of practical training would be the more important standard.



Dr Hasan Fahmi added, "The association of engineers has turned [its attention] to social work only. It has forgotten its national and professional responsibility to raise the standards of the profession and motivate engineers to serve their society."

#### The Absence of Engineering Plans

Dr Hasan Fahmi raised an important point which is the product of the decline in the standards of engineers. This is the absence of engineering plans and the absence of general planning which we have not had in past years.

"The absence of engineering plans is behind many of the problems Egypt is suffering from in industry, traffic, housing, in the loss of agricultural land and in other areas.

Dr Fahmi added, "If we were to try to go back to engineering plans now, everything that has happened in the past will be an obstacle to us. The fact that university professors have stayed away from planning under the pretext that they were only academicians has helped bring about this situation, even though a professor of engineering is primarily an engineer."

An Egyptian engineer is invaluable. About this [statement] Dr Samir 'Abd-al-Hakim of the College of Petroleum and Mining at Suez University said, "The state spends a lot of money on an engineer. If we were to look at the number of engineers who graduate every year, we would find that any wasteful use of engineers would cause the state to lose millions of pounds every year. However, this waste does begin with the education of engineers which is merely an outline of courses that lack spirit and substance. [After a student completes his education], he goes on to the work sites where he gets a shock from the real world."

Dr Samir added, "The value of an engineer is confirmed by his ability to discover all the mineral resources in our country without seeking the aid of any foreigner. Some agencies, however, seek the assistance of foreigners because they doubt the ability of Egyptian engineers. The reason for this lies in poor planning, the multiplicity of agencies overseeing the same thing and accordingly, in conflicting opinions."

#### An Inverted Pyramid for Engineers

An engineer in Egypt is a mere individual who has been assimilated in the social melting pot. He has lost his entity and his identity, and he does not know where he now stands. [He does not know] what is happening to the beauty of Cairo--buildings are collapsing every moment--[and he does not know what is happening] to the subway project and to [projects to] increase production. What is he to do?

Dr Hasan Imam, deputy dean of the College of Engineering of Cairo University said, "We must first consider the concepts that were laid down by UNESCO for the work engineers do in the area of construction. Each engineer must have 16 foremen working with him who are graduates of industrial schools or industrial institutes. This is a pyramid system that is known internationally. In Egypt, however, the pyramid has been turned upside down: an engineer works with six foremen, and, consequently, the number of engineers is higher than the international ratio. Engineers in Egypt now do the work of foremen, and this in itself wastes the value of engineers.

"It is up to an engineer to lay down the rules of design and make the plans for a project. But to hire an engineer to monitor the process of preparing concrete mix or write out citations for improper road use hurts. This applies only to Egyptian engineers.

"This situation is due to a decrease in the number of graduates from industrial schools and an increase in the number of engineers. Therefore we need to expand engineering education, and that includes industrial schools."

#### Egyptian Cities Defaced

Dr Hasan Fahmi added, "Despite this increase in the number of engineers we find that there is chaos in housing with regard to controls on imported cement or the addition of floors to existing buildings. Numerous restrictions tie an engineer's hands. Let us look for example at the process of adding floors to buildings and the violations that are committed. We find that the law which was issued in this regard is not being enforced. Egyptian cities have thus lost their distinctive character. For example, plans made in the fifties for the neighborhood of Madinah al-Muhandisin in al-Jizah were based on the construction of homes that would be no more than 12 meters high. At that time architects designed these buildings to consist of three floors. But suddenly, the law that pertained to this neighborhood was repealed, and anyone who wanted to build a high-rise building could do so. The neighborhood has thus lost its distinctive character, and it is being beset by the problems of utilities: water, sanitary drainage traffic, etc."

Dr Hasan Fahmi wondered, "What can engineers do about that when officials who grant permits know nothing about engineering? What is making the problem more complicated is the fact that the minister of housing formed a committee to look into [the problem of] exceeding the allowable heights of buildings. However, this committee has not met in 5 years and has ceased to be a committee for 2 years. The result of that is the destruction that we see occurring in Cairo. But what are we to do?"

Dr Hasan Fahmi provided another example. The al-Zamalik Club was given land by the state to be used for sports activities only, but the club surprised everyone by turning that land into [a development for] commercial stores. "This is something we [as engineers] reject, and we declare that rejection, but the pressures [that are applied] are stronger than the wills of engineers. Engineers have thus become a quantity that can be ignored."

Dr Hasan thinks that the professional standards of Egyptian engineers who live in Egypt are good. They were able to carry out notable works among which are the al-Jizah Bridge and the 6 October Bridge. Besides, they are more capable than others of designing projects that are suitable to the environment. However, foreign engineers are injected in their midst because of conditions attached to the loans we receive from countries that lend us money. These countries stipulate that they send us technical workers, and foreign engineers are part of that package. What are we to do about this?"

#### Major Projects: Where Are Egypt's Engineers?

Dr Husayn 'Abd-al-Ra'uf, professor of engineering at Cairo University said, "We are not opposed to foreigners working on major projects in Egypt. Some of these

projects are worth tens of millions of pounds. But what hurts is that Egyptian agencies that supervise these projects send only a very small number of engineers to take part in them. Thus, Egyptians do not benefit from the experience of foreigners, particularly since such projects in Egypt are rather infrequent. Such projects would also provide an opportunity [for our engineers] to acquire this experience in our country instead of sending them to benefit from similar projects that are being carried out abroad and paying the exorbitant costs of travel and residence."

Dr 'Abd-al-Ra'uf added, "The fact that a large number of engineers are not urged to work on these projects will cause us to seek the assistance of foreigners once again if we need to do maintenance work on these projects after that."

"When Egyptian professors of engineering ask to take part in these projects so they can benefit from them, they are told to stay away."

Dr Husayn 'Abd-al-Ra'uf added, "It has become customary to allow large engineering consulting firms to benefit from these projects. Small firms, however, are not given an opportunity to participate, and this impedes the development of our engineering experience."

#### The Subcontracting Game

A young engineer who refused to state his name said, "Egyptian contracting firms are better than foreign ones that are working in Egypt in some areas. Ninety percent of these foreign companies have no professional, technical or economic stature in their countries. They come to Egypt to pay commissions so they can obtain [contracts to do work] for which they are paid more than Egyptian companies would be paid. An Italian company, for example, is installing sewage pipes on a line beside the Military College at a cost of 450 pounds a meter. An Egyptian company had offered to do the job for only 200 pounds."

He added, "All these things make us very bitter, particularly since we have no power, and no official will listen to us."

In Egypt there are three areas for engineering work: the government, the public sector and the private sector. Each one of these has its problems. There is another area with its own problems: that of petroleum engineers who work for foreign companies.

#### Government Engineers Become Corrupt

The basic point in the case of government engineers is that of salaries. The shortage of engineers in the Ministry of Housing alone is about 3,000; in Cairo it is 500. The work government engineers do is basically confined to work on city councils and councils of governorates where they issue building permits, or they work in sanitary drainage or in the power authority. Many charges have been made against government engineers in areas where buildings collapse or construction materials rations are embezzled. Engineers are also accused of accepting bribes to issue permits to construction contractors to build or to add floors to an existing building. They are also accused of giving a telephone line in return for a large deal. The matter is such that government engineers have become civil servants, not engineers.

'Abd-al-Halim Mahjub, an engineer in the Ministry of Housing said, "We know that everyone is accusing government engineers of turning into bureaucrats who sit at their desks away from work sites. We know that some engineers have abused their work in government, particularly with regard to issuing construction permits and work permits in neighborhoods and governorates.

"Actually there is some truth to these charges, but there is also some exaggeration. The difficult conditions under which engineers work in the state's agencies and facilities are being overlooked. The most important of these conditions are the low wages which are not commensurate with the needs of life or with an engineer's position or role in society. How can a young engineer make ends meet with a salary that is no more than 60 pounds? Such a salary would not cover the basic necessities of life. Faced with these conditions an engineer looks for outside work in the public sector. He gives that job the greater portion of his time and effort because it pays him a wage of 200 pounds! Eventually, his work in government becomes secondary, and if he fails to get a job in the private sector, he will frequently use his influence in his government job. Of course corruption is indefensible, but we have to ask how can an engineer live on a salary of 60 pounds? How can he produce and be sincere in his work when he cannot provide the basic needs of life such as food and shelter? How can he have pride in his profession and respect its principles and values when he feels that a traveling salesman, an unskilled worker or a construction worker who works with him is enjoying a better material standard of living?

"It would therefore be arbitrary to ask engineers to be loyal and devoted to their work without providing them with the minimum that would be acceptable for a decent life, [particularly] when social practices and state policies force them to go in the opposite direction."

#### Engineers Doing Secretarial Work

Hasan Yusuf, an engineer in the governorate of Cairo affirmed, "Government engineers have actually turned into bureaucrats in every sense of the word. This is not their fault; it is the fault of the bureaucratic methods of work that surround them and force this situation upon them. Engineers are forced to work in disciplines other than theirs and not at work sites. They are forced to work in offices in front of files. There they turn into lazy employees, and they lose all contact with work, production and engineering. State agencies do not show an interest in them, and they do not try to train them or develop their information."

Mr Yusuf added, "What is worse than that is that a large number of government engineers are doing work that is closer to secretarial and administrative work [than it is to engineering]. This method gradually causes engineers to lose their contact with the profession, and they [eventually] lose their scientific and practical eligibility. Therefore, this situation must be reconsidered so that each engineer could work in his discipline and at an engineering work site."

#### The Public Sector Is Better

The situation in the public sector is different from that in government. When one walks into any factory, the only word one hears where an engineer stands among workers at a production site is the title, Mr Engineer. Nevertheless, these

engineers work under very poor conditions that are not separate from the problems of the public sector itself. Public sector engineers have the major responsibility of developing Egyptian industry and mastering the imported technology."

Dr 'Adil Jazarin, chairman of the board of directors of al-Nasr Automobile Company said, "Egyptian engineers have succeeded to a large degree in developing industry and assimilating the imported technology. They have also succeeded in replacing foreign experts in record periods of time, much less than the periods of time stipulated in contracts. Instead of 3 years Egyptian engineers were able to replace foreign engineers in 1 year."

He added, "Before the July Revolution engineers did only maintenance work on machines. After the revolution, however, engineers were able to plan, design and develop Egyptian industry. In this period a shortage in engineers developed, and it is for this reason that the mandatory service law was enacted. After a while when the mandatory service law was repealed, it was found that there was no shortage of engineers, but that there was rather a poor distribution of engineers. The question now is not one of a shortage of engineers; it is a question of experienced engineers fleeing to Arab countries and to the private sector."

Dr 'Adil Jazarin added, "The Egyptian engineer is an inseparable part of the public sector. He is affected by obstacles in that sector. If he wants to buy a device, he does not find the funds to make the purchase or to do research. In spite of that, he does good work like that done by foreign engineers."

This is confirmed by Engineer Kamal Qutb who designed the bus that is being driven now on Cairo's streets. He said, "As design engineers we work with very old resources: the machines and tools that would help us in our work are old. Besides, living conditions are difficult, and this is manifested by the small salaries we receive when compared with the salaries paid by the private sector and Arab countries. For example, we work all day under poor work conditions where it is cold [in winter] and without air conditioning [in summer]. We are rewarded with a small bonus that is no more than 30 pounds. We usually work overtime, and we find no transportation to take us home at that time. The company is supposed to provide us with private transportation at least."

"But the matter does not end here. [The difficulties] go beyond that, and engineers clash every day with employment regulations. The nature of a design engineer's work, which requires thought, is not taken into account. In the meantime we find design engineers abroad living in easy conditions so they can think for the future."

"What makes the situation more painful is the matter of the huge salaries that are paid to engineers in the private sector or in Arab countries. I [personally] consider immigration to the Arab countries a personal solution, one in a whole series of personal solutions that are prevalent in society now."

"It is not only material resources and regulations that make work in the public sector [unattractive for engineers]. [Disadvantages of working for the public sector] go beyond material resources and regulations and include personal strife. Engineer Hasan Mansi said, "A young engineer faces the problem of who will be boss? Will the boss be the old foreman or the new engineer? The socialist laws of

July set a rule that an individual who may not have a degree but who has experience would get a grade [promotion]. Accordingly, an old foreman would be entitled to a position as a young engineer's boss. Law Number 83 confirmed that principle, and this led to the existence of continuous strife between engineers and foremen."

It is for this reason that Dr Fawzi al-Rifa'i at the College of Engineering of Cairo University thinks that the atmosphere in the public sector is not good. "The public sector is riddled with bureaucracy and strife; there are few material and moral incentives; and effective control that could lead to an increase in production is lacking. All this clashes with the ambitions of an engineer who has recently graduated and who is usually too weak to resist where an administrative system is backward. Consequently, an engineer becomes a mere cog in the administrative wheel of a factory, and that is quite the opposite of what happens in the armed forces. When the armed forces are assigned any engineering task, they carry out these tasks promptly since engineering work requires a special administrative system. This atmosphere may not change unless the entire educational system is changed so that every individual would know what his duties are early in life as is the case in Japan."

Dr Fawzi added, "What has shaken up engineers is the fact that a negative cultural revolution has occurred in recent years. That revolution affected craftsmen but ignored engineers and other professionals. Accordingly, money and not a bachelor's degree in engineering became the standard. Thus, the social value of engineers in and out of work has ended."

#### Without Problems

Engineers anywhere compare themselves with [their counterparts] in the private sector where salaries are high and enough freedom is available. Engineer Ahmad Sharif of the (MANTRAC) Maintenance Company said, "Not any engineer can work in the private sector; only superior engineers do. Engineers in the private sector do everything, and the standard [by which they are measured] is what they produce and what they earn. For example, I earn 400 pounds a month even though I am 30 years old. This is better than what I used to do in public sector companies where I merely signed papers, and workers would come to me and tell me, 'Mr Engineer, you created a problem for me here!' In the private sector, however, everyone works and workers address me as though I were a master craftsman. Therefore, I have gained invaluable experience, unlike a government engineer who is not ambitious and who has yielded to administrative duties."

Muhammad Rabi', an engineer who graduated recently said, "Work in the private sector helps one become creative, but work in the public sector is subject to a plan that adheres to the state's policy, and this limits one's creativity. In the private sector one does not encounter objections to one's ideas since the private sector wishes to realize maximum profits. Consequently, the private sector would do anything that is profitable. Therefore, I would reject mandatory service for engineers, and I would pay any material compensation so I would not have to serve."

Engineer Mustafa Ayman, who works for a private contracting firm said, "Working in the private sector gives an engineer mobility, especially at the beginning of



his career when he can move around in search of a bigger salary either in the country or abroad in an Arab country. An engineer would not have this mobility when working in the public sector or in government. Besides, engineers have been receiving very rewarding salaries in the private sector, particularly in the past 5 years since mandatory service for them was abolished in 1977. But now salaries [for engineers] in the private sector have stabilized because the supply of engineers has grown."

Mustafa Ayman thinks that policies pursued by companies and oriented exclusively toward the realization of profits have killed the spirit of research and inquiry among engineers. These companies have forgotten that engineers, like physicians, need to update their information.

#### Petroleum Engineers

High salaries are not the problem that engineers who work in foreign oil companies have. Their problem is the dignity of Egypt and its reliance on itself to get the oil from under the ground. Engineer 'Imad al-Din Hamid of (Shalamir Jir) Oil Company said, "Egyptian engineers who work in foreign companies are hurting all the time because they see foreigners monopolizing Egypt's oil, putting that oil to poor use and avoiding to hire Egyptian engineers. Egyptian law requires these companies to hire a certain percentage of Egyptian workers in all their activities in Egypt. However, these companies meet that requirement by hiring Egyptians as clerks and administrators only and keeping technical work under the control of foreigners. And foreigners are to be found particularly in leadership positions. The law also stipulates that within a certain number of years foreign experts have to be replaced by Egyptian representatives, and this is not happening."

Engineer 'Imad explains that these companies are doing these things so that Egypt would not control [its] oil. [They hope to accomplish that] by maintaining a monopoly over [technical] experience and keeping Egyptians away from these technical positions.

Engineer 'Imad added, "Although Egyptian engineers working in these companies earn large salaries, these salaries are considered small when compared with the salaries foreign engineers earn. Besides, Egyptian engineers regardless of their experience are excluded from positions of leadership, and they often have a young man as their boss. This is psychologically very painful for us. And the matter does not stop at that; we are forced to do certain tasks."

'Imad wonders what an Egyptian engineer can do under these circumstances which are dictated by state policies coming from higher ups. "How can I be creative when I see my country's oil being drained? Don't we need a solution?"

'Abd-al-Wali 'Abdallah, associate professor in the Department of Petroleum the College of Engineering at Cairo University confirmed the foregoing. "Egypt's oil is controlled by a group of foreign companies where foreigners earn very high salaries. At the same time the Public Petroleum Authority asks these companies to set a maximum salary for an Egyptian engineer, and that is usually less than the salary of a foreign engineer."

Mr 'Abdallah added, "Foreign companies spend between 7 and 8 million dollars to drill oil wells, whereas an Egyptian company would spend between 2 and 3 million dollars, depending upon the depth of the oil. Foreign companies also send laboratory tests to their affiliate service companies despite the fact that Egyptian engineers at the Petroleum Research Institute can do these tests."

#### No to Mandatory Service

On the other side [of that question] there is an opinion that strongly opposes the restoration of mandatory service. Mandatory service is seen by those who subscribe to that opinion as a useless loss of a citizen's right to choose work that is suitable and work conditions that are acceptable. Dr Sa'id al-Nisha'i, professor of engineering at Cairo University said, "The repeal of mandatory service for engineers in 1976 was a step taken to remove the financial burden the state had to bear because engineers had to perform their mandatory service to the state. There was no real need for them [at that time] because of the lack of planning, the decline of industry and the economic crisis that became evident at that time. Besides, the repeal of mandatory service was consistent with pressures applied by the private sector to diminish the state's role in everything that had to do with the market and to leave the market to the laws of supply and demand. However, the matter was not confined to repealing mandatory service only. In fact, a large number of engineers employed by the state and the public sector began to leave their jobs in droves because of low salaries, and they began to move to the private sector and to Arab countries. Although the private sector did not provide engineers with better working conditions, particularly with regard to kinds of insurance and work hours, the private sector did provide them with rewarding salaries compared with salaries in the public sector and in government.

"Recently, however, the tendency has been to restore mandatory service so that the state's chronic need for engineers can be met. I believe that resorting to mandatory service is merely a superficial and a forcible solution to the problem because the state would be resorting to it as an alternative to going after the real reason for the problem, which is declining salaries. Mandatory service may solve the problem of having few engineers in the public sector, but it will not solve the problem of declining production. It is known that when standards of living drop to a certain level, rates of production too begin to decline. The only solution then would be to raise the standard of living. In general, there are several alternatives to mandatory service. One of them is to make service voluntary. Another is to have the association of engineers enter into collective agreements with the state whereby it would commit itself to provide the required number of engineers for national development plans. In return, we would guarantee engineers a minimum [level of] appropriate working conditions, and most important of these conditions are suitable salaries."

#### Shortage of Engineers Denied

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[Article by Ahmad Raslan]

[Text] The man is Dr Ahmad 'Ali al-'Iryan, professor of engineering at Cairo University and former dean of the College of Engineering. He served as secretary



to the Association of Arab Engineers; secretary to the Committee on Engineering Studies of the Supreme Council of Universities; and member of UNESCO's Committee on the Education of Engineers.

Dr al-'Iryan said, "The components of any civilization are based on the different disciplines of science. The second self-evident fact is that the backbone of the sciences, particularly the applied sciences, that is technology, are the engineering sciences. The ancient Egyptians who were the first to build civilization, built the pyramids on an engineering basis. Engineering is the foundation of what we eat, of what we drink, what we manufacture, what we build, what we fly and whom we love."

I asked Dr al-'Iryan, "Do we have a surplus or a shortage of engineers? What is the truth?"

Dr Ahmad al-'Iryan looked into space for a long time and then shook his head in grief. "I am contending that we have a surplus of engineers in all disciplines, and I emphasize in all disciplines. Therefore, I disagree with Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, the minister of education, and his contention that there is a shortage particularly in the areas of construction and building. That was the reason for his recent decision that the number of students admitted to colleges of engineering next year in departments of architecture and civil engineering be increased."

Our question was, "Why is that?"

"Statistics show that the number of engineers registered with the association of engineers exceeds 130,000. Let us analyze this figure. About 20 or 25 percent of these engineers are working in Arab and other countries. It was our own doing that we lost this large number of engineers because we removed all restrictions and allowed engineers to leave the country and emigrate. We have a popular saying which states that food needed for members of a household should not be given to hungry strangers. But young people have every excuse to do what they are doing. In order for them to get married, which is one of the simplest inherent human rights, they have to flee from this place of high prices. Most of them finished their education by the skin of their teeth."

"How is it that even with this massive exodus, we do not have a shortage of engineers?"

"There are two kinds of measurements used in calculating surpluses and shortages. One is used by the government, [that is], by the Manpower [Agency] which measures according to the following model: If the Measurements Administration or the Sewage Administration asks for a number of engineers, and no one, for example, applies for these vacancies, then the shortage of engineers is 100 percent. These are the government's or the Manpower [Agency's] calculations.

"The second kind of calculations is the kind that is real and scientific. Rates are measured according to two factors. The first [consists of] the total census of the population and the volume of business and resources; and the second factor is the ratio of engineering or engineers to the amount of energy that is available. Energy here means electricity, oil and other resources.

"By calculating these two factors [we find out that] we do not have a shortage. In fact, we are better off than all or most of the developing countries even after we deduct the 20 or 25 percent who have fled the country in search of higher wages."

"How is that?"

"After figuring out the number of engineers we lost because they left the country we have about 120,000 engineers left. With the number of students we now have in colleges of engineering, the number of engineers in 4 or 5 years will rise to 150,000 or 160,000."

"There is in fact an obvious shortage that we can sense, particularly in the construction sector, which represents by itself 50 percent of the next 5-Year Plan."

"The minister of education faced this situation by counting the number of [engineers] in the work force. Therefore, he decided to increase the number of students admitted to the departments of civil engineering and architecture at colleges of engineering starting next year."

Responding to a question I posed Dr al-'Iryan said, "What is evident in front of us is one thing, and the truth is altogether something else. The minister's decision was made to meet a shortage that does in fact exist, but it is a shortage on paper according to manpower figures. The Manpower Agency is like a husband, probably the last one to know [what is going on]."

"Let us bring the problem closer to home. Let's assume that the shortage is a disease which can be dealt with by using two methods of treatment. The first is treatment with pain killers and newspaper headlines--our largest opiate; and the other method--the scientific method--is one that treats the roots of the disease itself. In the case of schistosomiasis, for example, if one uses the first method of using pain killers, it would actually be less expensive to use (tartar) or other injections to deal with the disease. But in fighting schistosomiasis scientifically I would have to fight the basic reasons for the spread of the disease. For example, I would cover exposed pools of water and use covered drainage; I would sterilize snails; I would make farmers wear shoes; and I would increase their awareness about health and so on and so forth. Because scientific treatment of schistosomiasis is lacking, we have had that disease since the days of the ancient Egyptians. And so it will be with the shortage of engineers; it will continue unless...."

"Unless what?"

Dr al-'Iryan went on to add, "Let's assume that you have a refrigerator that needs repair. Whom would you call to have it fixed?"

"I would call an engineer, of course."

"No you would not. You would call a technician in refrigerator repair. There is a difference between an engineer and a technician. This is the secret of the shortage or the backwardness that we have. It is this confusion."

### The Situation Is Upside Down

Dr al-'Iryan went on to say, "There is a major difference between an engineer and a technician. An engineer designs or plans the engineering concept upon which an entire structure, in architecture for example, will be built. There is a difference between an architect who designs [a building] and the individual who carries out the design. The architect does not implement the design; it is the technician who does that. Technicians pour the concrete; technicians build; technicians implement the design; technicians or skilled workers install plumbing fixtures; and technicians install electrical circuits. But here the situation is upside down. Our engineers are also technicians. They are the ones who do the actual work, and in most cases they do the administrative work as well. An engineering team stands on four bases of support: an engineer, a technician, a skilled worker and finally an ordinary worker. [Here in Egypt] engineers do most of this work.

"All the advanced world knows something that is basic and self-evident, and that is called division of labor. But our engineers are jacks of all trades. This means that there is no specialization, and as long as that situation remains, we will always have a shortage. No minister of education will be able to do anything more to meet the shortage except increase the number of students admitted to schools of engineering. Ministers of education are responsible only to a limited degree for the failure of other sectors: the industrial, training, manpower and planning sectors."

"But the question still remains, how do we remedy that shortage?"

Before answering Dr al-'Iryan drew a deep breath that conveyed a sense of weariness. "Our engineers have to do engineering work. In Egypt 20 percent of engineers' energies are wasted. That is, we waste 50 percent of the number of engineers we have. In the scientific computations that we have of engineering in the advanced world each engineer needs to have four technicians to do the work. This means that the number of technicians we need is the number of engineers multiplied by four. That is 120,000 engineers multiplied by 4 or about half a million technicians. Let us turn [our energies] forcefully to the education of technicians. This army that finishes secondary school [every year] can be channeled in that direction. The only thing we have to do is increase the monetary value of that degree so that a technician's salary would be close to that of an engineer 1 or 2 years after he finishes secondary education. Let India be our example in this. India, like us, is a developing country, and it has faced the same problem. India has effected a comprehensive change in teaching the basic sciences. It has removed all restrictions on vocational, technical and technological education. In the discipline of engineering in particular its standards are now quite close to those of Europe. India is now producing cars and tractors and has not stopped as we did with assembling them.

"To put it very briefly, we have no shortage of engineers of any kind. What we have is poor planning and poor execution."

### The Standards of Graduates Decline

Dr al-'Iryan is distressed--he used that term--with the standards of our graduates, particularly graduates of schools of engineering.

He said, "Progress means a revolution in education, and it also means political democracy. Without both, we are just playing a game and wasting time. There is not a single example of a change that has occurred [anywhere] that was not imposed. There is not a single example of an educational development that has occurred [anywhere] and was not imposed. In 1956 when the Russians launched their first rocket into space, Americans reconsidered all their educational curricula. They devoted attention to the basic sciences, to engineering and to technology. They challenged the method by which mathematics was being taught, and they forced changes in the [method of teaching] all the sciences. If they had gone along with a slow change or with slow development, they would have never gotten ahead of the Russians.

"The framework of engineering education [in Egypt] has to be rearranged. There are 17 colleges of engineering outside Cairo and yet colleges of engineering in Cairo still have one third of the faculty of engineering [in the country]. There is a limited number of professors in the College of Engineering at al-Minya University, whereas colleges of engineering in Cairo are overstaffed. We must have an outreach policy in education.

"It is very important that we set an admissions policy [for our colleges]. This means that a college of engineering is not to admit more students than it can handle. I know that this matter is subject to popular pressure, but the consequences [of not doing that] are frightening. My students, engineers who are employed in Arab countries, told me that they are facing fierce competition. The general standards of engineers coming from developing countries is now higher than ours. We should not act like ostriches and hide our heads in the sand. In fact, some Arab organizations now refuse to hire engineers who graduate from schools of engineering in the governorates.

"Let us assume for the sake of argument that there is a shortage. There is something that is very well known in the world of advanced engineering. It is called switching from one engineering major to another. With a plan for training and a little training a graduate of mechanical engineering can switch to another discipline if there is a surplus of mechanical engineers. This method can remedy the shortage we now have completely, and it would not give us these large numbers of engineers.

"There is one thing that is very important: let us benefit from the great experience India has had. Engineering education is to be made available in factories; industrial engineering education is to be continuous; there are to be courses for training and courses for upgrading and strengthening skills. Why don't students get all their training in factories? Why doesn't a student of automobile mechanics get his training at the plants of al-Nasr Company? Why don't industrialists help in the training process at universities? Why don't academicians join industrialists in facing these problems? There has to be a marriage between science and work instead of this boring theoretical education!

"And why don't the factories contribute a share of their surplus production and their profits to finance the education of engineers? I would like industrialists to tell us what kinds of engineers they want and what kind of engineers would meet their requirements. Furthermore, industry has its own problems. Why do we always have this problem about foreigners? Why, as our fellow citizens from Upper Egypt jeeringly ask, must we have those foreign experts? If industry participates in funding university education, it will ultimately benefit from these contributions."

## LIBYAN OPPOSITION LEADER'S STATEMENT

EA282125 Omdurman Domestic Service in Arabic 1930 GMT 26 Feb 83

[Text] Here is a recording of a press conference held by Dr Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqaryaf, the secretary general of the national front for the salvation of Libya:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] In the name of God, the compassionate the merciful, we are pleased to welcome brother Dr Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqaryaf, the secretary general of the national front for the salvation of Libya, to the headquarters of the Sudanese Socialist Union Central Committee. Dr al-Maqariaf has been well-known to his people and the sons of his homeland for a long time. He worked as a professor in the University of Libya from 1971 and as secretary of the faculty of economics. He then occupied the position of auditor-general in Libya from July 1972 to November 1977, when he was appointed ambassador at the Foreign Ministry. He worked as ambassador of his country in India from 1978 to May 1980. When he resigned to join the ranks of the opposition to the fascist and terrorist regime, the regime of Col al-Qadhdhafi. He participated in the founding of the national front for the salvation of Libya, which was born 7 October 1981. He is distinguished by his intensive activity during the last 2 years [words indistinct] Libyan ranks against the treacheries of al-Qadhdhafi and his agent and crazy regime. Welcome Dr Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqaryaf. Before you are the press which is keen to hear about what is going on in Libya and activities in your ranks.

[Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqaryaf] In the name of God, the compassionate the merciful. God alone is to be praised. God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you all. I thank you very much [words indistinct] for met to meet you again to talk to you about some of the suffering of our Libyan people under the rule of the diabolical al-Qadhdhafi. [Words indistinct] I do not think that the issue of the suffering of the Libyan people under this (?creature) is unknown to world public opinion or brothers and friends outside Libya.

This suffering has pervaded all aspects of Libyan life, what Libyans hold sacred, their values [word indistinct], energies, potential, political rights and relations with neighbors, brothers, friends and the whole world. [Passage indistinct]

This was not confined to the internal suffering of the Libyan people but also affected all manifestations and aspects of their relations with the outside world, beginning with neighbors, brothers and friends [words indistinct] but I believe that in spite of this suffering--indeed in the womb of this suffering--our Libyan people were born. They are now seeking the voice of salvation. They are seeking to save themselves and lift themselves out of the abyss.

Perhaps what the world hears now about voices of the Libyan opposition outside Libya and what the world hears of repeated bids inside Libya to assassinate al-Qadhdhafi or overthrow his regime are but (?attempts at salvation). This [words indistinct] to get rid of al-Qadhdhafi and, with his brothers, friends and the rest of the world, continue with the march of good, the march of sacrifice, the march of construction, the march of freedom and the march of human dignity.

We in the national front for the salvation of Libya are attempting, through an integrated struggle program covering information, political, trade union, political and military aspects to contribute [words indistinct] through the mobilization and resources of our Libyan brothers and Libyan militants and fighters inside and outside Libya [words indistinct] so as to achieve the hopes of our people and the hope of our country to get rid of al-Qadhdhafi and set up a national constitutional and democratic regime (?based) on our peoples Islamic beliefs, their cultural heritage and history. It will be a regime emanating and arising from the free choice of our entire Libyan people.

The points which I would like to draw your attention to in this gathering, in addition to other points which you may raise in your questions--the most important point is this: The so-called general people's congress is no more than a farce invented by al-Qadhdhafi's sick imagination to falsify the will of the Libyan people and to use it as [words indistinct] to attach to it all his mistakes and follies.

[Words indistinct] the congress ended its meetings on (?17) February, the night prior to the (?treachery) planned the following day for fraternal Sudan. The congress ended its meeting that day. Among its recommendations, recorded in the resolutions and recommendations of the meeting, was the following--I would like you [word indistinct] to draw the attention of the world, neighbors, friends and the whole international community, to the plots of al-Qadhdhafi; perhaps he now believes that he has a mandate from the Libyan people for this; the resolutions and recommendations contain the following--permit me to read you these resolutions--using the oil revenue to purchase weapons in huge quantities; [words indistinct] using the oil revenue to purchase weapons in huge quantities, because what al-Qadhdhafi has now is not sufficient; diversification of the sources of weapons and the purchasing of sophisticated (?Soviet) weapons; training of Arab and Islamic forces in preparation for this; formation of a new organization for external security; continuation of the work to strengthen the alliance with Syria, South Yemen, Algeria, the Lebanese nationalist forces and the Egyptian national front--if there is an Egyptian brother here he [words indistinct] and the Egyptian national front; stressing the alliance with the socialist community and above all with the USSR; alliance with Ethiopia and Iran; alliance with the liberation movement in the Arab



homeland, Africa and Latin America, and the revolutionary movements in Europe and Asia; upholding of a policy of neutrality toward other states to serve the revolutionary strategy in the next stage; [words indistinct].

With regard to Libyan opposition and the countries cooperating with it the recommendations were as follows: addressing a final warning to the Libyans abroad, calling on them to return to the homeland; with regard to the misguided group--that was the expression used--which was taken a position hostile to the Libyan people and their revolution, meaning al-Qadhdhafi, which has moved under the protection of the enemies of the Libyan people and has dealings with them, this group must bear responsibility for the consequences of its treachery, including its pursuit by all individual Libyans by all means, and its final liquidation. Every male and female citizen is responsible for the liquidation of these [word indistinct] enemies of the people and the revolution. In this way al-Qadhdhafi will no longer be a lone terrorist in the eyes of the world but the entire Libyan nation has to be turned into terrorists in the eyes of the world.

To undertake security measures--perhaps they mean [word indistinct] Sudan--to undertake all measures with regard to various states to ensure that they do not assist this misguided group, otherwise the Libyan Arab people should be excused if they behave in a similar manner toward such states--as if they did not do so before, once, twice, 10 times--should be excused if they behave in a similar manner towards such states with every available means. They warn such states of the consequences of continuing their assistance to their misguided group. They assure them that they will take a defiant stand in defending themselves and their achievements [words indistinct] to break the reactionary security cordon protecting Israel which is a launch-pad for destruction inside the Arab homeland, by undermining such regime and entering into an alliance with the masses and the revolutionary forces in these arenas; to define the position of the Jamahiriyah toward the countries which caused or participated in the failure to hold the African summit conference in Tripoli, which so harmed the Africans.

This is the program of action (?according to) al-Qadhdhafi. For its implementation he will employ every [word indistinct] the political [word indistinct] in the world. He will exploit the economic recession which [words indistinct] many countries. He will employ all kinds of mercenaries and will employ all the resources of Libya and all the sons of Libya.

We are saying this to explain to our brothers, friends, neighbors and brothers not because we are afraid of al-Qadhdhafi as Libyans. [Words indistinct] we attach no significance to al-Qadhdhafi. If he imagines the death is the worst thing that can befall somebody we [word indistinct] death and this is the greatest [words indistinct].

With these words we wish to draw the attention of our brothers, neighbors and those who are still unaware. Some people may imagine that al-Qadhdhafi has changed, but he is the same. He has not changed and will not change. [Words indistinct]. He believes he has a mandate over the whole world, an ideological and political mandate over the whole world. He believes that he has the right

to undermine any regime he wishes, to be hostile or wage war against anyone he chooses.

When al-Qadhdhafi fails to achieve some of his aspirations or intentions toward certain regimes or states of the opposition this is because of considerations outside al-Qadhdhafi's control, because he never ceases for a single day in his aim to hurt others. [Words indistinct]. He used to dream about becoming chairman of the OAU. He used to imagine that the prerequisite for realizing this dream was to stop practising terrorist actions. He tried to stop but the dream was still not achieved. He has now become more cunning and is now more [words indistinct].

These are some observations to start the discussion with you. [Passage indistinct] [End recording]

CSO: 4500/101



## BRIEFS

TURKMEN MEETS AL-'UBAYDI--Tripoli, 11 Jumada, 23 Feb, Jamahiriya News Agency-- The secretary of the people's bureau for foreign liaison yesterday met with Ilter Turkmen, the Turkish foreign minister, and his accompanying delegation who arrived in Tripoli yesterday. Means and ways of bolstering bilateral cooperation between Turkey and the Jamahiriya were discussed in this meeting. 'Abd al-'Ati al-'Ubaydi, the secretary of the foreign liaison bureau pointed out to the visiting minister the dimensions of the provocative campaign to which it is being subjected by American imperialism, which is also threatening the Libyan Arab territorial waters. He stressed upon the necessity to make the Mediterranean region a zone of peace. The Turkish minister appeared to understand the position of the Jamahiriya confirming upon the necessity to strengthen cooperation between the two countries. [Text] [LD231540 Tripoli JANA in English 0958 GMT 23 Feb 83]

CSO: 4500/101

MOROCCO-SPAIN RELATIONS DISCUSSED

PM220941 Casablanca LE MATIN in French 13 Feb 83 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Morocco Regards Gibraltar as a Spanish Territory Just as Spain Should Regard Ceuta and Melilla as Moroccan Territories"]

[Excerpts] The latest edition of the Barcelona magazine TIEMPO publishes a statement by [Moroccan] Minister of State for Foreign Affairs M'Hammed Boucetta obtained by its special envoy to Rabat, Luis Reyes.

According to the Spanish magazine, Mr Boucetta said that following the socialist victory in Spain there had been some apprehension in Morocco owing mainly to the position adopted by the Spanish Socialist Workers Party [PSOE] as a party in some international bodies, especially in the socialist international on the Sahara problem. "But I think, at least in principle, that this problem can be solved in the same way as when the French socialists came to power in France," Mr Boucetta explained.

"I think," Mr Boucetta continued, "that the Moroccan decision, which is the result of his majesty King Hassan II's initiative in Nairobi when he said that Morocco agreed to the inhabitants of this region being able to express their will by referendum once again, soothed the bad consciences which the French and Spanish socialists might have.

"In addition it should be said that Spain had a position adopted by the previous government: the Madrid agreement signed and implemented in its day, and that it now has more than just a historical significance whatever position the present government adopts on the historical meaning of the said agreement."

Question: Could it be said that relations between Spain and Morocco are passing through what is almost a honeymoon period thanks to the PSOE's apparent abandonment of Polisario?

Answer: I think that the Spanish socialist government's sense of responsibility and the sense of continuity in the state and in the state's pledges prevailed over a degree of demagoguery.

Furthermore, since the day the PSOE government took power we undertook to clarify all joint problems, particularly during the visit to Morocco by Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs Fernando Moran who made a rapid but very useful working visit.

We examined exactly which subjects on which it has been impossible to maintain cooperation and harmony and discovered that the latter could continue in all spheres.

Question: However, in your capacity as Istiqlal secretary general you have frequently stated that Morocco has the right to sovereignty over Ceuta and Melilla?

Answer: And I continue to say that. There is no change on these questions of principle which are fundamental. Ceuta and Melilla have always been part of Moroccan sovereignty and will continue to be. This is a question of principle. But we want this affair to be settled by joint agreement, in a friendly way and not with hostility and confrontation.

What we want is for Spain to rid itself of some notions which belong to the 18th or 19th century. It is now impossible to continue to talk of commercial enclaves, of external dominions outside your own country, whatever colonial formula they are given. Dominions are absolutely anachronistic. They have no place in our time. Spain must really live in the times in which it wishes to live, in the late 20th century.

It is impossible to continue to have good relations as long as these old-fashioned ideas persist. We understand the difficulties which exist in Spain as regards public opinion, but Spain must understand that we cannot go on forever without raising our position--the one which I have just confirmed to you--in other words, that we consider and always have considered that Ceuta and Melilla are territories which can only come under Moroccan sovereignty.

Question: London's THE TIMES recently said that Britain should play the Ceuta and Melilla card in the Gibraltar conflict, and another conservative British newspaper went so far as to suggest that Britain might hand Gibraltar over to Morocco. What do you think of these British ruses?

Answer: I have not read those newspapers. I do not know what they propose. But I can say that we wanted to link the Ceuta and Melilla problem with Gibraltar's fate. Morocco supports Spain on the Gibraltar question, whatever position Britain adopts and whatever irritation Britain might feel toward us. We believe Gibraltar to be a Spanish territory whatever the formalities adopted to hand it back to Spain, just as Spain ought to regard Ceuta and Melilla as Moroccan territories.

We have shown a great deal of patience but we hope to make Spain understand that this affair must be solved in a friendly way and taking account of the two countries' interests.

In addition, the relations which should unite us as Mediterranean countries in political, economic and all types of common questions, should go much further than the framework of this territorial problem.

Question: The Spanish general staff has a plan called "Operation Ballesta" for defending Ceuta and Melilla should they be attacked by Morocco.

Could that eventuality arise?

Answer: This is a war plan. My reaction is bound to be one of rejection. We clearly say what we think both on the question of principle and on the procedure, which should be negotiation and the settlement of the problem in the framework of friendship, not hostility.

However, if military procedures are being prepared by Spain, that would lead us to a different kind of preparation too.

Question: During [French] President Mitterrand's recent visit there were several times when you raised with the French head of state the difficulties which the Moroccan economy would suffer if the EEC were enlarged by Spanish entry, and you asked for French support within the community to overcome those difficulties.

Answer: Yes. We discussed that. We proposed a meeting among the countries affected by the common market's expansion, especially the Mediterranean countries. We think it is better to reach some type of economic consultation because, instead of launching into a competitive course which would be harmful to all, we could achieve harmonization as to which products a particular country could cultivate or reduce so that there is no competition which would not benefit any of us. In that connection Morocco gave a favorable reply to this French idea, which we raised with the Spanish authorities in a practical way during Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs Fernando Moran's recent visit.

CSO: 4500/96

## BRIEFS

POLISARIO CLASHES REPORTED--Rabat, 23 Feb (MAP)--"Bloody incidents" opposed two weeks ago "armed mercenaries" in the camps of the "Polisario" near Tindouf, causing the death of 120 elements and injuring several dozens, reported on Wednesday the "AL-MAGHREB" daily, mouthpiece of the "Rally of Independents" (moderate opposition). Quoting well-informed sources, the daily said that "the direct cause of this butchery lies in the embezzlement of ammunition and food supplies coming from Libya and destined to the mercenaries." "The incident," noted the daily, "confirms previous information on the existence of deep divergences among rival factions of the 'Polisario'." These divergences will certainly lead to a scission within the mercenary movement, stated "AL-MAGHREB," adding that these bloody incidents confirm the viewpoint of some observers who had noted at the end of the last "congress" of the "Polisario" held behind closed doors in Algiers, "an obvious scattering" of the "political" as well as of "the armed" elements of the so-called Polisario. [Text] [LD232055 Rabat MAP in English 1227 GMT 23 Feb 83]

CSO: 4500/96

## MU'AMMAR AL-QADHDHAFI ACCUSED OF PLOTTING AGAINST SUDAN

LD181607 Omdurman Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Text] In connection with reports carried by regional and international news agencies on Libyan concentrations at al-Kufrah and on the Sudanese-Libyan border, a responsible source has told SUNA that information received confirms the truth of these reports which we are following closely.

We have observed fighter aircraft long-range bombers and also mechanized units, all directed against Sudan. It has been established beyond all doubt that the maniac colonel of Libya has been planning a new plot against our people similar to the plot he hatched in 1976 for the invasion of Sudan, which claimed the lives of hundreds of innocent citizens.

We have been watching the plots of the madman of Libya against our people and our country for some considerable time. He continued setting up military training camps in Libya and in countries adjoining Sudan, where weak-willed and deceived people were given training under the command of failed officers and politicians such as 'Abdallah Zakariya and Ya'qub Usma'il.

Of late we have maintained a watch on the movement of the so-called opposition leaders abroad, such as Muhammad Zayn al-'Abidin, 'Abd al-Majid Abu Hasabu and others who have made for themselves a career as political brokers by shuttling between European capitals and Tripoli, plotting against our people, their revolution and accomplishments.

In his statement to SUNA, the source pointed out that the Aryath incident in the south was only a link in the chain of plots hatched by the maniac of Libya against our country--an incident which claimed the lives of 13 innocent citizens. He exploited some rancorous elements from among sons of the southern region. The kinsmen and families of these people should know that the perpetrator of this painful incident was the madman of Libya, Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi.

The source declared that the authorities have captured members of revolutionary committee organizations who infiltrated into Sudan from a neighboring country, where they received training in the theories of the green book and acts of sabotage. They made full confessions which enabled the security authorities to arrest the remaining members who infiltrated into Sudan.

He affirmed that the people's armed forces have been and continue to be ready to face up to this and all other plots. We have the ability and the capacity to teach the madman of Libya a lesson he will never forget. The source pointed out that all the necessary measures for this have been taken.

The source affirmed that the security authorities continue to monitor and watch every move by this conceited tyrant who imposed himself, through professional international terrorists, on the fraternal Libyan people, who can do nothing.

The source added that while announcing the unmasking of a new link in the chain of plots by the colonel of Libya, Sudan wishes to draw the attention of the whole world, particularly the OAU and the United Nations, to the plots of al-Qadhdhafi, which are directed against the neighboring countries, particularly Sudan, and warns all countries helping and cooperating with him against such folly.

In conclusion, the source affirmed that the armed forces of our people and the security forces, which are supported and bolstered by the heroic Sudanese people, will continue to foil, unmask, expose and deter the colonel's plots.

CSO: 4500/96

MINISTER OF HOUSING DISCUSSES DRAFT LAW ON FOREIGN-OWNED PROPERTY

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 22 Jan 83 p 6

Interview with Moncef Belhadj Amor, Tunisian minister of housing, by Nejib Ouergui; date and place not specified]

[Text] Five years instead of 6 months for the cancellation of sales of property made without the knowledge of the renters.

--Period of priority rights goes from 1 to 6 months.

--Right to remain in a building extended to property other than that customarily used for residence purposes.

--Management of property will be controlled by the Ministry of Housing.

--Cost of repairs will be deducted from rent paid.

A legacy of the colonial period, the problem of foreign-owned property is a subject of concern to many Tunisian families. In fact the combination of actions by speculators and by certain property managers has only accentuated the insecurity felt by persons renting and occupying such houses. An even more serious matter is the fact that these houses, which have been poorly maintained, are more and more likely to collapse. It is in this context that last Thursday [20 January] in the course of a cabinet meeting the government approved a draft law on the right of persons renting such houses to remain in them and to have priority in purchasing them from the owners of record.

To provide further details on this matter Moncef Belhadj Amor, minister of housing, has agreed to answer our questions.

[Question] Before the approval by the cabinet on Thursday [20 January] of the draft law on foreign-owned property, the comment was made that there was no law to protect people renting these houses. What led the government to take these new measures?



[Answer] The problem of foreign-owned property goes back to the time our country became independent. Foreigners left the country, abandoning the real estate belonging to them and leaving this property in an uncertain legal situation.

Tunisia refused to nationalize this property or even to take unilateral, definitive action concerning it.

These homes have been occupied by Tunisian citizens on various bases. The persons renting them have been in an uncertain situation for a long time.

For their part the owners of the property give the impression of being no longer interested in the houses, alleging that the rents received are very small.

Tunisia was thereby faced with the following situation:

--Homes that were available and unoccupied;

--Thousands of renters with no guarantee that they could become owners of the property they lived in;

--Much of the property threatened by decay.

The situation has been further complicated by the activity of speculators who have insidiously negotiated for the purchase of the property by other persons. Tunisian legislation under common law permits, in fact, maintaining a priority right of purchase for the person renting the property. However, these provisions of law are not effective in protecting the rights of the renters of these foreign-owned properties.

This is the reason why new legislation has been drafted.

#### Additional Guarantees for Present Occupants

[Question] What steps have been taken and what are the new guarantees?

[Answer] The draft law approved by the cabinet provides two kinds of arrangements: the first series confirms the rights provided for present renters under existing law and particularly the priority right of the renter to purchase the property.

This draft law strengthens these provisions of law by extending to bona fide occupants the same rights as those accorded to renters.

This right is also extended to buildings other than those earmarked for residence purposes.

The draft law also extends the period of time allowed for the exercise of the right of priority purchase by the renter, which has been raised from 1 to 6 months.

In the same way renters and bona fide occupants will henceforth have 5 years (instead of 6 months) from the date of sale to have any sales cancelled without their knowledge.

[Question] The management of these properties often leaves something to be desired, which further complicates the situation and at times creates difficult problems. In this regard what action do you intend to take to improve the moral standards of the management of this property?

[Answer] In fact the second series of measures in the draft bill concerns the management of this property. We have noted that the management of the properties often leaves something to be desired from all points of view. More particularly, some of the property managers are guilty of practices which are absolutely intolerable.

#### Management More and More Subject to Control

Therefore, it was necessary to take action to ensure the legality and provide for paper standards of activities concerning this property.

From now on the management of this property will be controlled by the Ministry of Housing, which will have the authority to:

- Approve the managers of this property and to follow up on how they perform their duties. Houses which are unoccupied, without any manager taking charge of them, or which are mismanaged will be subject to direct intervention by the authorities.

In the same way the government will ensure that major repairs considered necessary are carried out by the renter or the management firm, charging the costs against the rents collected. The draft law contains in particular certain penal provisions against management firms which violate the law.

#### Efforts Are Continuing for a Definitive Solution

[Question] While these measures will provide a measure of security, do they mean giving up a search for a definitive solution to this problem?

[Answer] Absolutely not. The government has confirmed its position, which it has stated many times, that the definitive solution of the problem of foreign-owned property will be achieved by transferring the property to the Tunisian renters or bona fide occupants.

We are presently engaged in negotiations with the French authorities. These negotiations involve the provisions for purchase of the properties, the sales price, and the financing of the transactions.

The legislation which the cabinet has just approved has the purpose of guaranteeing the situation the renters find themselves in, while awaiting the conclusion of the negotiations which we undoubtedly believe will be successful.

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## IRAQI-YUGOSLAV COMMITTEE BEGINS SESSION

IN211602 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1500 GMT 21 Feb 83

[Text] Baghdad, 21 Feb (INA)--The eighth session of the joint Iraqi-Yugoslav committee for Economic and Technical Cooperation began its work here today. The Iraqi side is headed by Hasan 'Ali, revolution command council member and trade minister, and the Yugoslav side by Zvone Dragan, vice president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council.

In his opening speech, the Iraqi minister praised the developed relations between Iraq and Yugoslavia in the various fields, especially trade and economy. He noted that the joint committee's meeting at the scheduled time confirms the mutual trust between the two countries and the strong ties of friendship and mutual cooperation which have genuine and strategical value.

The minister said that the current session is taking place under extraordinary circumstances due to the Iranian regime insistence on continuing its armed aggression against Iraq and rejecting all international efforts and all the peace prospects which have been offered by Iraq to stop the bloodshed and solve the dispute peacefully.

Hasan 'Ali affirmed that the international community, and the nonaligned movement in particular, have assumed the urgent responsibility of taking effective measures before it is too late to deter the Tehran rulers.

The Iraqi minister expressed confidence that the two friendly countries' cooperation and common view on the vast scope of this cooperation guarantee all the requirements for the development of their mutual relations in the interest of their peoples.

Dragan affirmed that his talks with the Iraqi officials will afford him a better opportunity to get acquainted with the cooperation formulas which have been carried out so far and to examine the adequate means to improve and develop the existing ties of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The Yugoslav official pointed out that during his stay in Iraq he will hold political consultations to coordinate stands between the two countries on the nonaligned summit conference to insure the success of the conference and to achieve the nonaligned movement's unity and increased efficacy.

Dragan expressed his admiration at the progress made by Iraq and its ability in implementing its economic and social plans in the best manner possible despite the war. He reaffirmed his country's stand and earnest endeavors to stop the war between Iraq and Iran and reach a peaceful solution to the dispute.

The committee meetings are attended by the representatives of the trade, industry and minerals, transport and communications, agriculture, irrigation, housing and reconstruction, oil and planning ministries as well as the committees of foreign trade relations in both countries.

The session has set up three specialized committees for trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

CSO: 4400/206

## IRANIAN ATTACKS ON CIVILIAN AREAS CRITICIZED

NC261052 Baghdad Radio in Persian to Iran 0600 GMT 26 Feb 83

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, oh deprived and oppressed people of Iran: Yesterday the idiotic regime of Iran--your and our number one enemy--attacked several civilian and residential areas in our border cities as well as the cities of Basra and (al-Shahabi) in [name indistinct] Province with long-range artillery. As a result, several houses and schools were destroyed.

By these aggressive acts the Iranian regime is not only displaying its enmity and animosity toward the Iraqis but it is also proving many of the things we have stated on the deep hatred and animosity the Iranian regime feels toward Iraq and the Iraqis. Otherwise, how else can the attacking of civilian areas and defenseless people be interpreted at a time when Iraq is faithfully refraining from bombing any civilian targets in Iran. We are refraining from doing so because not only do we know that the war imposed on Iraq has no connection with the Iranian people but also because we know that the Iranian people are burning in the flames of this war from two sides. On the one hand, their children are being crushed by the mill of war and, on the other, they are having to suffer very heavy and backbreaking taxes, the suppression of their freedoms, the absence of job opportunities, vast unemployment and the existence of more than 2 million refugees because of the war which the idiotic Iranian regime has imposed on Iraq and on the Iranian people.

We once again stress that by bombing defenseless Iraqi cities, Khomeyni's regime intends to force Iraq to lose its patience and thus to force it to bomb Iranian cities so that it can use these attacks by [word indistinct] to fan the flames of the war. We do not know what the Iraqis have done to harm the Iranian regime for their children to be facing death and destruction both in the battle arenas and in daily arbitrary bombings by the Iranian regime, especially of the cities of Basra, Mandali, Zurbatiyah and Khanaqin. You, the people of Iran, are well aware of how powerful Iraq is and of the fact that it can give a suitable and powerful reply to aggression. But you can also see that Iraq does not do so. And even if it does something like this, it will be excused by God and by public opinion in the world and in Iran because our moral responsibility, which is to do our duty toward the Iraqi nation and the Iraqi cities, places us in a position of responsibility and compels us to give a crushing answer to the source of the aggression.

Therefore, we sincerely ask all Iranians to think about this. We also ask each Iranian to apply pressure, each from his own position, on the Iranian regime to prevent it from bombing our border cities and so that the battlefields on the war front will be the places where the results of the war will be judged. This should be done so that the Iranian regime will realize how cruel war is at the war front and so that it will realize the extent of material and human losses it has suffered. The last loss suffered was the death of 15,000, twice that number wounded and hundreds of prisoners of war during the Iranian regime's losing battle in (Mevsan). This battle was a lesson to the Iranian regime that will never be forgotten. This battle destroyed the webs of the black dreams of attacking Iraq, occupying its territory and turning it into a small government affiliated to Khomeyni's regime, which is what this sick regime had in mind.

We thus deem it suitable to remind you, the people of Iran, so that you will know that we will never (?stay silent) in the face of these aggressions by Khomeyni's regime and the dastardly bombing of Iraqi cities. Our destructive reply will be much more hostile and much stronger, and the person who warns is excused.

CSO: 4400/221

EGYPTIANS VOLUNTEERED 'OF THEIR OWN FREE WILL'

PM181627 Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 7 Feb 83 p 3

[AL-AHRAR correspondent report: "Iraqi First Deputy Prime Minister: Egyptians Volunteered of Their Own Free Will; We Did Not Bring Pressure on Them To Fight With Us"]

[Text] Baghdad--Did the Iraqi Government bring pressure to bear on Egyptians working in Iraq to volunteer in the fight against Iran?

Many rumours and stories have been circulating about this subject which I put to Iraq's number two, Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy prime minister and commander of the Popular Army.

Taha Yasin Ramadan said: "This is an insult to the Egyptians. They are not mercenaries, nor, as far as we are concerned, are they foreigners to have pressure to bear on them in order to fight with us. What is being said about pressures being brought to bear on them is not true. The first we heard of this subject in Iraq was when we read in an Egyptian magazine in the early days of the war a brief report saying that Egyptians working in Iraq were being subjected to pressure in order to enlist. The Ministry of Information asked me to reply to this report. Immediately the following day I went to one of the camps where the Egyptians were training. I met them and talked to them. I have the following question to them: Are you being subjected to any pressure by any Iraqi official in order to volunteer?

They replied in the negative and said that they would write to their kinfolk in order to explain the truth."

The Iraqi first deputy prime minister continued: There are in Iraq "Egyptian volunteers" [quotation as published] who used to study in Europe. They left their studies and came here in order to take part in the fighting. Did we pressure them?

He added: "Since this matter has been brought up I will explain to you all the facts and implications of this subject. Following the late President Anwar al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, the signing of the Camp David agreements and the severance of relations between our countries the revolution command council issued directives to the officials concerned stressing the need to treat



Egyptian citizens well and not to attack al-Sadat in their presence out of respect for their feelings and so that they may not regard this as an attack on their country and thus elicit a response from them that might cause friction between them and Iraqi citizens.

"On the third day of the war we began receiving telegrams from Egyptians offering to volunteer, which goes to show that the rumour about the exertion of pressure is unfounded, nevertheless at the beginning we did not accept applicants. We summoned those who asked to volunteer and told them: forget about the telegrams in which you offer to volunteer and consider them as if they have never been. We told them that if any of them sent these telegrams out of a passing enthusiasm they must realize that they are not binding on them. They must rest assured that they will remain in Iraq and go on living here as they always did. As for those who are still determined to volunteer, they must submit new applications, which in fact they did.

"Nevertheless, we are ready to discuss any complaint alleging that the complainant lost his job in Iraq because he refused to volunteer. As for those who did volunteer and participated in the fighting we look after them. This is natural, for they originally came to work and earn but they preferred to fight on the side of their brothers in Iraq. They did so prompted by their Arabism."

CSO: 4400/206

# OPPOSITION DISCUSSES SADDAM HUSAYN TYRANNY

IN 2140 Damascus SANA in Arabic 2045 GMT 27 Feb 83

[Text] Damascus, 27 Feb (SANA)--A state of anxiety and fear prevails among more than 70,000 Iraqi families which the hangman said last week are under the surveillance of his repressive organs.

This was announced by a responsible source in the Iraqi opposition in Damascus. He said that last week the hangman threatened to annihilate the families of soldiers, officers and members of the popular army who refused to take part in his insane war against the Islamic revolution in Iran. The media organs broadcast the text of the hangman's message in which he warned that these families face a bloody fate if these militarymen did not join their units before 1 March.

The source said that the hangman Saddam, who is used to fabricating occasion to commit great massacres against the sons of our people in Iraq, knows that none of those who have refused to participate in his war will join his aggressive forces and that their families have no power to make their sons, who are scattered in the plains in the south, in the mountainous north and in neighboring countries, come forward. He, however, will blame their families to continue his massacres and to find a media coverup for his crimes.

In another development, the hangman threatened the Iraqi opposition members at home and abroad that he would adopt similar measures with their families and the families of their relatives if they did not join the bandwagon of agency in Baghdad.

Opposition circles here said that similar experiences have shown that he has dishonored his promises and treacherously hanged those elements which were weak and responded to his previous calls.

The Iraqi opposition called on the UN secretary general, Amnesty International and human rights committees to intervene quickly to prevent this criminal from committing further massacres against the innocent in Iraq. A statement issued by these circles said that Saddam's threats revealed his intentions to continue to shed the blood of the innocent, defy international and human law and norms and violate the simplest human rights by making a family shoulder the responsibility for its son, contrary to internationally existing rules and principles. The statement said that Saddam insists on baring his teeth before the international community as he takes his dying breath.

## BRIEFS

PRESIDENT VISITS SADDAM CITY--Baghdad, 25 Feb (INA)--President Saddam Husayn today visited Saddam City near Baghdad. The president drove in the city streets in an open car greeting hundreds of thousands of people who lined the pavement to receive him. The people of the city were celebrating the fourth anniversary of President Saddam Husayn's visit to their city in 1979 when he announced in a great rally that the Iraqi leadership had ordered the immediate start of rendering public services to the one million inhabitants of the city. [Text] [JN251521 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1450 GMT 25 Feb 83]

GDR LIGHT INDUSTRY MINISTER--Baghdad, 25 Feb (INA)--GDR Light Industry Minister Buschmann and his delegation left Baghdad today at the end of a week-long visit. Buschmann expressed satisfaction at the results of the visit, during which he discussed bilateral cooperation and ways of promoting it. [Text] [JN251014 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0905 GMT 25 Feb 83]

POPULAR ARMY FIGHTERS--Comrade Taha Yasin Ramadan, Revolution Command Council member and popular army commander, has said: Our unified people under the leadership of struggler President Saddam Husayn will remain stronger than all the evil designs aimed at harming them. This came in his speech to the fighters of al-Qadisiyah sector in the autonomous region who were to leave for the confrontation lines with the spiteful Iranian regime's forces. Taha Yasin Ramadan added that the brave fighters in the autonomous region expressed their true nature and excellent capabilities in confronting all the despicable conspiracies which are aimed at disrupting our people's unity. He added that these fighters had stood in one line with their comrades in the formations of the brave popular army and the armed forces since the first day of the aggressive war, which is imposed on our people by the Khomeynite charlatans. He added that these fighters will continue to strongly defend the gains of the glorious 17-30 July revolution [word indistinct]. Comrade Taha Yasin Ramadan pointed out that compliance, high spirit and love of the homeland, which characterized the autonomous region's fighters, proved the capability of the brave sons of our Kurdish people to repulse any attempt to harm our people's unity under the leadership of struggler President Saddam Husayn. He also praised the heroic, brave stand of the autonomous region's fighters alongside their comrades in the brave armed forces who have the honor of achieving our victories in the glorious al-Qadisiyah battle.



EXCHANGE--Baghdad, 25 Feb (INA)--Iraq has reiterated its complete readiness to deal with the Iranian POW's in accordance with the 1949 Geneva convention and in a humanitarian manner. Iraq also expressed the hope that the Tehran rulers would abide by these conventions and avoid dealing with sensitive humanitarian issues with empty propaganda and exposed trickery. This came in a statement to INA today by an Iraqi Foreign Ministry spokesman, who was commenting on Iranian allegations that Iran is ready to release a number of disabled Iraqi POW's. The spokesman recalled the decision President Saddam Husayn communicated to (Hoquet), deputy director of the operations branch of the International Committee of the Red Cross, when the president received him in Baghdad on 2 November 1982. The decision was that Iraq is ready to release the disabled Iranian POW's for nothing in return. The spokesman added that contacts are still being made with the Red Cross, which is, in turn, contacting Iran to inform it of Iraq's measures in this regard. The Iraqi spokesman stressed that Iraq's humanitarian initiative to release the disabled Iranian POW's exposes the falsehoods and lies of Tehran rulers who attribute such initiatives to themselves; they are in fact Iraqi humanitarian initiatives which those rulers are trying to cover up with these exposed methods. The spokesman pointed out that the humane Iraqi stands and the inhumane Iranian stands explain the way Iraq dealt with the Iranian children when it decided to release them via the Red Cross for nothing in return. He added that the Iranian authorities disavowed those prisoners, to acquit themselves of their responsibility toward them as cited in the international conventions. He said Iran decided to receive these children via Turkey on 18 February this year, but soon afterward refused to receive them. [Text] [JN251013 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0900 GMT 25 Feb 83]

'APN' CHAIRMAN--Moscow, 26 Feb (INA)--The Iraqi ambassador to the USSR has discussed with Pavel Alekseevich Naumov, acting chairman of the board of APN, relations between the two countries in the sphere of information. During a meeting here yesterday, the two reviewed the current relations between the two friendly countries which require further joint efforts to confront the imperialist onslaught and the conspiracy against the Arab region. [Text] [JN260846 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0825 GMT 26 Feb 83]

'TASS' DIRECTOR GENERAL--Moscow, 21 Feb (INA)--The Iraqi ambassador to the USSR today reviewed with TASS Director General Sergey Andreyevich Losev the scope of Iraqi-Soviet relations in the information fields and means of developing them in the interest of the people of both friendly countries. The ambassador and the TASS director general also discussed the Iraq-Iran war as well as its background and causes. The ambassador asserted that Iraq is ready to stop this war and solve its problems with Iran by peaceful means but Iran is against this. The Soviet official renewed his country's stand on ending the war and solving the two countries' problems by peaceful means. The discussion also touched on the developments and possible future prospects of the Palestine question. Losev affirmed his country's firm support for the Palestine question and all efforts that serve Arab solidarity for the sake of achieving the legitimate objectives which the Palestinian people are fighting for and seeking to achieve. [Text] [JN211646 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1600 GMT 21 Feb 83]



## CANDIDATES FOR NEXT CHIEF OF STAFF EVALUATED

124-1011 THE JERUSALEM POST in Hebrew 10 Dec 82 Weekend Supplement : 2

[Article by Efraim Haber: "Candidates for Next Chief of Staff Evaluated"]

Next? The answer to the question of who will be the next IDF chief of staff is dependent these days on the answer to a completely different question. The different question is who will be the prime minister, minister of defense and other members of the government when it will be necessary to determine who will replace Rafil. At the present time everything stands still. The sound of commissions at the highest echelon of the IDF will be delayed at least until the recommendations of the investigating committee concerning the massacre in the refugee camps in Lebanon will be published. Until matters clear up there is a tense wait at the IDF top echelons.

Usually chiefs of staff were appointed for 3 years. In the nation's first two decades there was only one exception, Moshe Dayan, who held the position of chief of staff for more than 3 years. In the next two decades there again was only exception, "Dado" Elazar, who served less than 4 years as chief of staff. All the governments in the last two decades tended to extend the chief of staff's term by at least one year. Rafil, who is liked by Begin, holds the record: five years. His unknown successor is expected to start his term on the morning of April 15, 1983.

We have already said that a lot is dependent on the recommendations of the Investigations Committee. It could unintentionally determine who will be Rafil's successor and when he will take office. It has already been said that Rafil "could be hurt" as a result of the decisions of the investigating committee, and possibility exists, until it is apparent otherwise, that committee members, Cohen, Barak and Efrat will decide to "behead" the IDF's 11th chief of staff. In a sad, historical precedent of this kind, after the Agranat Committee rendered its findings regarding the oversights of the Yom Kippur War, the government remained intact and only the chief of staff "Dado" had to go. A temporary, acting chief of staff, Yitzhak Hapi, took his place until Motta Gur was appointed as chief of staff. In the present case, at least theoretically and in contrast to the Agranat Committee precedent, the possibility exists that along with Rafil, the Prime Minister, Minister of Defense, and Foreign Minister will have to go. The question of who will appoint the next chief of staff and when it will happen is therefore not a provocative question.



In Israel's short history there were precedents of prime ministers appointing chiefs of staff on the eve of their own departure from office. David Ben-Gurion set "a trap" for his successors--Prime Minister Moshe Sharett and Minister of Defense Pinhas Lavon, in December, 1953. On the eve of his departure to Sde-Boker, he appointed Dayan to be chief of staff and Shimon Peres to be the Director General of the Ministry of Defense. Ben-Gurion did not leave the second and last time in June, 1963, before the promise was made that Yitzhak Rabin would be the chief of staff. Golda Meir, at the twilight of her government, appointed Motta Gur. Begin and Sharon, if they go, could act likewise and no one could complain.

My own private assumption is that Menachem Begin, Arik Sharon, and Yitzhak Shamir will remain in office and that the first two will be ones to determine who will be the chief of staff two days before the next Independence day. According to all signs, the decision on the matter will take place by the end of January at the latest.

Even though one should not treat the appointment of the chief of staff as an athletic competition, it is proper for the purpose of strictly journalistic description to use athletic terms. According to these terms it could be said that in the "semi finals" there will be four candidates for the position of the 12th chief of staff. The four whose names were mentioned at the corridors of the general headquarters were Yekuti'el Adam (now deceased), Avigdor (Yanash) Ben-Gal, Moshe Levy and Dan Shomron. Later, Amir Drori's name was also mentioned.

Of the first four, it is regrettable to say that Koti Adam's chances were less than those of the others, even though he was the most senior among the generals. Koti held the position of chief of operations branch and deputy chief of staff longer than anyone in the past. He was a devoted officer worked hard behind the scenes under two chiefs of staff, Gur and Rafel. His advancing age worked against him. If he had remained alive after the war in Lebanon, he would have been 55 years old now, a bit old to be appointed chief of staff. Arik Sharon hinted so they say--that he does not intend to appoint a chief of staff who will end his military career at the age of 60. Koti was promised that he would be appointed as chief of intelligence. His death in the Lebanon war made the plan unattainable.

The other candidate for the position of chief of staff was--and presumably still is--Yanosh Ben-Gal, who up until shortly before the war in Lebanon, was the Regional Commander in the North. Yanosh is very well regarded. Not a few in the IDF say that he is a brilliant officer--but unpredictable. They quote a definition he made of himself: "I might be crazy, but I am not stupid." Even Yanosh's opponents believe that if he was not unpredictable, he would certainly have been candidate with a better chance to replace Rafel. His friends, on the other hand, claim that there were others like him in the IDF, Arik Sharon, Ezer Weisman, Israel Tal and others. His opponents claim that this is exactly the reason why these three were not appointed as chief of staff. Yanosh's friends say that this is probably one of the reasons why two of this distinguished list, Sharon and Weizman, "jumped a class" and became defense ministers.

...the present head of the operations branch, Moshe Levy, and the second, Dan Shomron, formerly the South Regional Commander and at present unemployed (there are those who say not by chance). Moshe Levy is of the same generation and the same age as Yanosh Ben-Gal and Dan Shomron. Of the three he is the only one who served with a great degree of success in two command positions--as the commander of the Central District and as deputy chief of staff and head of the operations branch. The hitch here is that in the IDF of 1982 this is not the only test. The senior officers cadre look back and thoroughly check the background of the candidate for chief of staff. His biggest disadvantage, Moshe Levy's opponents claim, is his limited experience in commanding large forces in battle and in war. Actually, since he was a company commander (and maybe with the exception of the time he was the commander of the Jordan Valley unit which pursued terrorists) others were preferred over him in senior battle positions. There are those in the IDF who see a deficit in that.

Yanosh Ben-Gal is very much liked by Rabin. It is astonishing how little serious there is in the military and political sphere. Those who are opposed to the war in Lebanon say that Rabin and Yanosh's views and actions finally created the need to go to war. Those who are for the war point to the fruitful cooperation between them, which led the IDF in a justified war during which it "broke the bones" of the terrorist organizations.

Yanosh's appointment as chief of staff will be possible only if Rabin will have a decisive influence on the appointment. There is no doubt that he is Rabin's favorite candidate. His chances were better before the war and certainly before the establishment of the Investigating Committee on the massacre in Sabra and Shatila. Begin listened to Raful, and he had a lot of influence with Begin up until the war. There are those who say that no chief of staff up until now can be drawn with Ben-Gurion and Rabin at a certain point with Eshkol. But such influence with a prime minister as Raful had with Begin.

However, it can be assumed that the relationship between Begin and Raful after the Investigating Committee, is not the same: the conflicting evidence about the Saturday morning telephone conversation (and there are those who claim two conversations) portrayed Begin--but not only him--as someone who does not speak the truth. The conflicting evidence hurt the prime minister's integrity, which is a very sensitive point for him. Thus, a recommendation by Raful to appoint Yanosh Ben-Gal does not have a great chance at the moment. On top of that, one should add the important and decisive opinion of the minister of defense. It has been hinted from Arik's leaking court that for various reasons Yanosh Ben-Gal is not his candidate. If no surprising change takes place, Yanosh Ben-Gal will return then from Boston, where he is studying now, to his house in Caesarea.

This leaves three candidates in the final competition. One is deputy chief of staff and the present head of the operations branch, Moshe Levy, and the second, Dan Shomron, formerly the South Regional Commander and at present unemployed (there are those who say not by chance). Moshe Levy is of the same generation and the same age as Yanosh Ben-Gal and Dan Shomron. Of the three he is the only one who served with a great degree of success in two command positions--as the commander of the Central District and as deputy chief of staff and head of the operations branch. The hitch here is that in the IDF of 1982 this is not the only test. The senior officers cadre look back and thoroughly check the background of the candidate for chief of staff. His biggest disadvantage, Moshe Levy's opponents claim, is his limited experience in commanding large forces in battle and in war. Actually, since he was a company commander (and maybe with the exception of the time he was the commander of the Jordan Valley unit which pursued terrorists) others were preferred over him in senior battle positions. There are those in the IDF who see a deficit in that.

Moshe Levy is a wise officer, a man who works behind the scenes, who is considered by many officers in the IDF as a success story, albeit colorless. Those who support his appointment as chief of staff claim that the IDF needs someone with his organizational ability and after the turbulence of the Lebanon war there is a need for tranquility. There are those who believe that on the contrary, what the IDF needs is a push and a chief of staff who will shake it up.

Moshe Levy has his own advantages over the other candidates. In contrast to Yanosh Ben-Gal and Dan Shomron, who are controversial, he does not stir emotions against him. In the personal battles between Arik Sharon and Raful, Yanosh Ben-Gal and Dan Shomron, Levy could become a compromise candidate. His political opinions are now known, at least publicly. One of the advantages of his appointment as chief of staff is that at least one of the other candidates will remain in the IDF, probably Dan Shomron. In any other case at least two would leave the military. One of Moshe Levy's advantages, which is usually talked about in whispers and hints, but there is no reason not to mention it openly, for the chief of staff appointment is to a great extent also a political appointment. Moshe Levy of Kibbutz Beit Alfa hails from the Oriental community. The Likud government and Prime Minister Begin can gain a point in public opinion if they will appoint him. Ben Gurion dreamt about a chief of staff from the Oriental community. Begin implemented it.

In the finishing line along with Moshe Levy is Dan Shomron. That fact, that in contrast to Moshe Levy, there is no need to introduce the former commander of the raid on Entebbe, speaks for itself. In the battle for the position of chief of staff, this is an advantage.

Shomron has a disadvantage (that some say is an advantage), he is the strongest opponent of the present chief of staff. Shomron did not hesitate to state his military and political opinions, which are in opposition to those of Raful, through various forms, including the press. Just as Yanosh Ben-Gal is Raful's candidate, Dan Shomron is like putting a red flag in front of his eyes. From Raful's camp they hint that the present chief of staff will "lay in front of Begin's door" to prevent Dan Shomron from getting the position of chief of staff. Their relations have worsened after the war, actually there is a complete rupture in the relations between the two, not to mention the exchange of accusations between them.

Dan Shomron's background, his human and military capacity and his various military positions, presently put him at the head of the ladder for the position of chief of staff. He was the commander of a reconnaissance unit in battles during the Six Day War, the commander of an armored brigade which led fierce battles at the Suez Canal during the Yom Kippur War, and of course, the commander of the raid on Entebbe. He served in senior positions (paratroop officer and an armored brigade officer), he was the Southern District commander during the reorganizational period after the pullout from the Sinai. He has a global outlook. He is a bit deficient in his academic studies. His political viewpoints are not the same as those of Raful. This is one of the reasons for the rivalry and tensions between them.

another two years. The name of the Nasser District Commander, Asim Drari, was also mentioned as a candidate to replace Bitul. His name has been mentioned in connection with a story which circulated in the corridors of the general staff, that Arik is preparing a surprise and that he will appoint someone not included in the list. Drari's indirect involvement in the Sabra and Shatilla massacre takes him out of the picture, at least for the moment. It depends on what the Commission will decide. Drari was too close to the defense minister during the war. He is the same age as the other candidates, if he will not be a candidate now he can still be a candidate in the next round. He will not be hurt by the findings of the investigating commission.

994.

Case: ... 2/67

ISRAEL

#### MODIFICATIONS TO GALIL RIFLE

Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew No 14, 8 Dec 82 p 5

[Text] The IDF has changed all the bolts of the "Galil" rifle with new improved bolts. By doing so, the limit that had been placed on using the "Winchester" (5.56) bullets in the "Galil" rifles was removed.

In the past the use of "Winchester" 5.56 bullets in the "Galil" rifles was forbidden since their cartridge case tore during the firing, due to a combination of reasons: a defect in the ammunition and a defect in the weapon's bolt. Therefore, the bullets were melted for use only in M-16 rifles.

After the defect in the Galil's bolt was corrected, the 5.56 bullets could be used in both the "M-16" and "Galil" rifles without limitations.

9944

CSO: 4423/67

BANK LIQUIDITY PROBLEMS, CREDIT SQUEEZE NOTED

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 22 Dec 82 p 18

[Article by Benny Barak: "Bank Liquidity Problems, Credit Squeeze Reported"]

[Text] An increased credit demand is being felt by the banks in the last few days and as a result the banking system has again been thrown into a liquidity deficit of one million shekels, in contrast to a surplus liquidity of 1.5 billion shekels that existed in the system the week before.

Actually, there were much higher surpluses in the banking system the previous week, 5 billion shekels, whose source was the banks' capital mobilization, but the Treasury obligated the banks to deposit 3.5 billion of the flotation money in the Bank of Israel, so that the banks remained with surplus liquidity of 1.5 billion shekels.

The great demand for credit during the past few days stems from increased activities in the stock market and various advance business payments for value-added taxes and other factors toward the end of 1982.

Parallel with the increased demand for credit, the Bank of Israel took a series of measures to reduce the scope of credit in the economy and these measures also contributed to the liquidity deficits of the banks.

At the end of last week the Bank of Israel decided to reduce the "credit window" to the banks (the credit it puts at the disposal of the banking system) by 1.5 billion shekels. Until now "window credit" was 3.2 billion shekels. Now it was reduced to 1.7 billion shekels--the actual meaning of this reduction is lessening the credit that the Bank of Israel puts at the banks disposal by 1.5 billion shekels.

In addition to this measure, the Bank of Israel reduced the banks' capabilities to grant loans in foreign currency, after it became apparent that in previous months the banks had granted loans in foreign currency amounting to \$500 million.

With this background, first credit in dollars was cancelled completely, and two weeks ago the banking system was given the opportunity to renew credit in dollars; the whole system was limited in offering credit in the range of

only \$40 million per month and this ceiling is being fully utilized. Consequently, the pressure for credit in shekels increased.

The banks have reported that the present campaigns to encourage savings in trust funds and to encourage mortgages for those who are eligible undertaken by the Housing Ministry--through the granting of generous credit--contributed to the liquidity deficits.

The banks estimate that their liquidity situation will improve at the beginning of January, after the Bank of Israel will free the flotation money that was frozen.

As a result of the freeing of this money it will be possible again to get credit from the banks on a larger scope than is provided today.

9944

CSO: 4423/72



PHOSPHATES IN JUDEAN DESERT

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 14 Dec 82 p 5

[Text] "More than a hundred million dollars will be required to establish a new phosphate plant in the huge phosphate deposits, which were discovered recently in the Be'er Sheva Basin"--this estimate was voiced yesterday by geologist Yair Shiloni, who conducted the geological survey during which the new deposit was discovered.

The survey conclusions, made known yesterday, indicate that in the new field there is a proven quantity of hundred million tons of phosphates. The field is located at the center of a geographical triangle--Arad-Beer-Sheva-Dimona--an area of over one hundred square kilometers.

Shiloni indicates that there is still a long road before phosphates can be produced from the new site. According to him, it will take ten years for the new plant to begin to produce phosphates. He noted that they are weighing the possibility of transferring the phosphate ore from the Beer-Sheva Basin to existing plants such as the Rotam or Zin Creek plants and in so doing to accelerate the production process. According to him the survey's results are very encouraging and there is a possibility of finding additional phosphate deposits in the JudeanDesert area and lower part of Mount Hebron where 50 experimental excavations will take place in the coming months.

It also has been disclosed that a geological survey has shown that there are shale oil reserves in quantities of 5 billion tons in the Negev. From this shale oil could be produced but the process is still expensive.

9944

CSO: 4423/72

ISRAEL

#### NEW GENETIC ENGINEERING FIRM

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ 14 Dec 82 p 7

[Text] A new genetic engineering firm was established recently by the Technion Institute for research and development and a team of scientists from the Technion.

It was reported on behalf of the Technion that the firm "Haifa Genetics" is developing advanced genetic technological systems. It is developing immunization against viral diseases in animals and people, utilizing know-how the scientists accumulated in the area of genetic engineering.

The chief scientists in the firm are Dr. Jonatan Koon and Dr. Chaim Manor of the biology department of the Technion. The research team includes experts with masters and doctors degrees in the sciences, technicians and laboratory employees.

The scientists indicate that the use of genetic technology to create immunization is preferable to the existing systems. That, as a result of the elimination of the risk that the immunization will become active and injure those who have been immunized and because of the low cost of their production. Several international firms have shown interest in the new firm.

The Technion Institute for Research and Development holds stocks of the firm, and its general manager is Attorney Ziv Fox from Haifa.

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CSO: 4423/72

BEERSHEBA PHOSPHATE RESERVES

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 13 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Michael Grati: "Beersheba Phosphate Reserves"]

[Text] The proven economic reserves in the phosphate field that was discovered two years ago in the Beersheba Basin consists of a hundred million tons of very high quality phosphates--this has become apparent in tests conducted in the field in the last 18 months.

The tests which were conducted by the phosphate companies in the Negev in cooperation with the Energy Ministry have shown that the phosphate deposits cover an area of 100 square kilometers (in the triangular area--Beersheba-Tel Melchata-Arad) and have an economic advantage over the phosphates utilized today in Oran, Zin Creek and the Rotam plateau. The phosphate content in the rock is very high and it contains less impurities (such as chlor). The tests which included 200 drills showed that the mining of the phosphates from this deposit will be cheaper since it is covered only by a thin layer of rock and the phosphate layers themselves are continuous and uniform.

An authoritative source in the phosphate company told HA'ARETZ yesterday, "If 30 years ago we knew about the existence of this deposit, we would not have started at Oran." According to him studies of various tests will continue--including an ecological survey--for another 18 months. Then a phosphate plant will be planned which will utilize the new deposits.

According to estimates, the plant could produce 3 million tons of superior phosphates a year (as opposed to the 2.5 million tons that are produced now in 3 of the company's plants) and it could operate within 6 to 8 years from the beginning of the planning. The operating date of the new plant corresponds to the ending of the economic phosphate reserves in the Zin Creek and its operation will enable continuity of production and an increased capability to compete with the Moroccan phosphate because of the superior qualities of the phosphate ore in the new deposit.

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CSO: 4423/72

## BRIEFS

NEGEV OIL SHALE--It is possible to produce crude and synthetic oil out of the shale oil which has been discovered in the Negev--this estimate was voiced by Dr. Joseph Yerushalmi in a study published on Monday in Arad during the sixth convention of mining engineering in Israel. It is apparent from Dr. Yerushalmi that several experiments were performed in Israel to produce crude and synthetic oil. The experiments took place in production plants which represent processes which reached an advanced developmental stage. So far Israeli scientists have succeeded in producing crude oil in experimental plants: "The results show that crude oil could be made into fine synthetic oil with new technologies," reasoned Dr. Yerushalmi. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 14 Dec 82 p 3] 9944

CSO: 4423/72

'AL-ANWAR' COMMENTS ON ARAB STAND IN NEGOTIATIONS

NC270928 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 0530 GMT 27 Feb 83

[From the press review]

[Text] Writing in the newspaper AL-ANWAR under the title "The Lebanese Triangle and the Jordanian Triangle," Rafiq Khuri says: The lengthy talks between Lebanon and the United States on the negotiations with Israel have reached the depth [of matters] and it has become apparent from the statements that there are three [as heard] points of disagreement. The basic disagreements between Lebanon and Israel center on the details of the security arrangements and the future relations between the two countries.

Lebanon is not paying the price of peace in as much as it is paying the price of the inability to achieve peace. This is because the Arab states are asking Lebanon to give the Palestinians what they themselves refuse to give the Palestinians. They are also asking Lebanon not to give Israel what they themselves are prepared to give Israel in accordance with the Fes plan, and not only in accordance with the Reagan plan. Everyone is aware of the difficulty of a small country remaining in a state of war and the danger this poses to the entire area. Everyone is also aware that to emerge from a state of war to a state of no peace, no war is an impossible task, in addition to the fact that such a situation is a ready-made prescription for a future war whose results are known beforehand. Despite this, they are also afraid of emerging from a state of war to a state of peace in a special Lebanese time before the time is ripe for a settlement in the Middle East. For this reason, attempts are being made to reach an astonishing formula that bears the features of peace on the surface but that leaves on the ground all the elements of war or all the preparations for the possibility of war. Some describe this formula as no war in Lebanon and no peace in the area, while others describe it as no peace in Lebanon and no war in the area. In both cases, Lebanon is paying a price for the winner and a price for the loser; a price for the one who is afraid for his security and a price for the one who desires to regain his land.

The fact is that the United States is moving within two separate triangles--the first is in Lebanon and consists of Israel, Syria and the moderate Arab states and the other is in the area and consists of Israel, Syria and Jordan together with the moderate Arab states and the PLO.

CSO: 4400/222

REPORT ON CABINET DECISIONS

NC252016 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Text] The cabinet's extraordinary meeting ended at 1900 [1700 GMT]. It started at 1730 under the chairmanship of President Amin al-Jumayyil and was attended by Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan and ministers.

Following the meeting, the acting secretary general of the cabinet Shafiq Munayminah made the following statement:

The cabinet held an extraordinary meeting at 1730 on Friday 25 February under the chairmanship of His Excellency President Amin al-Jumayyil and attended by Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan and the ministers.

During this meeting, the cabinet resumed discussing the general situation, the snow blizzard disaster--particularly in Dahr al-Baydar--and reviewed the outcome of the measures and rescue operations which have been accomplished so far and by virtue of which hundreds of marooned persons were rescued.

The cabinet reviewed as well the report of the committee formed according to decision 10 for the year 1983, issued by the prime minister on 22 February 1983. It also reviewed the conditions and circumstances which led to topic of the report, the disaster, which resulted in many casualties. After deliberations, the cabinet decided to adopt the report's recommendations which came as follows:

1. Relieving director general of the internal security forces Hisham al-Sha'ar, Jabal Lubnan Governor Fadil Hamwiyah and al-Biq'a Governor Henri Lahhud of their posts and putting them at the disposal of the interior minister; relieving director general of the Ministry of Public Works and Transport Antoine Rayyis of his post and putting him at the disposal of the public works and transport minister.
2. Reprimanding director general of the Ministry of Interior Samih al-Sulh.
3. Transferring and reprimanding 'Alayh district officer Salih al-Dsuqi.
4. Applying disciplinary transfer punishment to B'Abda Company Commander Lt Col Rafiq al-Hasan and 'Alayh detachment commanding officer Maj Nadim Hamdan.

5. Considering the accepted resignation of Brig Gen Nakhlah Muqtabghab as sufficient punishment.

These recommendations were referred to the appropriate authorities to take the necessary measures regarding them.

On the other hand, the cabinet decided on the following appointments:

1. Brig Gen 'Uthman 'Uthman as acting director general of the internal security forces.
2. Butrus Jarmanus as director general of the Ministry of Public Works and Transport.
3. Judge Muhammad adh-Dhuq as governor of Jabal Lubnan.
4. Dhiyab Yunus as governor of al-Biqa'.

The cabinet decided as well on the appointment of Judge Wajih Khatir as director general of the Ministry of Justice.

The cabinet made a recommendation that the Central Inspection Department should be entrusted with the follow up of the inquiries.

CSO: 4400/222



REPORT ON AL-JUMAYYIL-HABIB TALKS

NC251243 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Text] The Lebanese and U.S. sides will resume their meeting at approximately 1400 [1200 GMT] today following a quick lunch at the Republican Palace. The two sides will continue discussing the topics discussed during the important morning meeting during which agreement was reached on a set of joint Lebanese-U.S. principles. Three or four principles still remain under discussion.

President Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil held a 45-minute meeting with Ambassador Habib this morning. They then left for the conference room where President al-Jumayyil chaired a general meeting attended by Foreign Minister Dr Elie Salim, the Lebanese negotiating delegation, Ambassador Habib and the U.S. negotiating delegation. The meeting was interrupted at noon for a quick lunch. It will be resumed this afternoon.

What happened during the meeting was that viewpoints were brought close on a number of details. This will enable the U.S. envoy to convey to Israel the final Lebanese stand on these details. This will also enable the United States to extend absolute and total support to Lebanon and its stands.

During the meeting the Lebanese viewpoint was fully explained regarding the apprehensions and dangers, what is considered infringement on sovereignty and the topics from which Lebanon cannot deviate. Agreement was reached on a set of joint Lebanese-U.S. principles while three or four principles remain under study. Discussion of the details of the pending principles will be completed while taking into consideration to what extent they may affect sovereignty and to what extent guarantees may be given.

Hence, the texts of [these principles] were examined slowly and carefully because the indications are important as are the positions of the commas and the periods. Lebanon insists on ascertaining that the United States will support it on various stages and levels following the withdrawal. This is because Lebanon alone cannot feel safe from its strong neighbor Israel, which will be inclined to continue to interfere in its domestic affairs and to attempt to impose its hegemony on it.

Up to now, it can be said that the work is serious and the atmosphere is good.

CSO: 4400/222

PIERRE AL-JUMAYYIL SAYS ISRAEL ENTERED UNINVITED

NC111324 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1145 GMT 11 Feb 83

[Text] The supreme leader of the Phalangists, Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil, today emphasized that the Phalangists and their supporters stand alongside the government in the current negotiations with Israel, pointing out that his party is at President Amin al-Jumayyil's disposal.

In a press statement published today, the Phalangist leader expressed pride at being one of the leaders of the Lebanese forces, 75 percent of whom are disciplined Phalangists who are bound by the party leaders' orders.

On the question of the deployment of the Lebanese army in greater Beirut, the Phalangist leader said the president of the republic has the last say on this matter because the Lebanese have had enough of seeing the state's authority being violated.

On the internal situation in the country, Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil pointed out that great progress has been achieved: in Tripoli, the Muslims have started their battle to oust the Syrians from the city and in West Beirut, voices have begun to rise saying they were Lebanese before anything else. This has created great satisfaction among the Lebanese and the Christians.

On the current negotiations, Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil emphasized that Lebanon does not have a complex about holding a dialogue with its enemies, pointing out that it seeks to befriend everybody but refuses to be an agent for any side. He said: I believe only in one Lebanon--a Muslim and Christian Lebanon.

The Phalangist leader stressed the need for self-reliance. He explained: We did not ask Israel to come to Lebanon and it did not consult us when it entered. I wonder, however, had it not entered, what would we have done to oust the Syrians and Palestinians? Nevertheless, I emphasize that Israel entered without an invitation from us.

Replying to a question about the meaning of the continued presence of the Lebanese forces in East Beirut despite the departure of the Syrians and the Palestinians, Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil said: Lebanon is still occupied by the Syrians, Palestinians, Israelis and communists.

CSO: 4400/208

## AL-WAZZAN TOURS ARMY POSITIONS, MAKES STATEMENT

NC171900 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Text] Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan inspected the positions which the Lebanese army is deployed in within greater Beirut at noon today. The tour began at the perimeter of the American University through to (Karakas), Hotel International, the Fu'ad al-Awwal bridge, Sodeco, al-Ashrifayah, al-Karantinah, Jisr Nahr al-Mawt, al-Mukallis, the Republican Palace Crossroads, the B'abda traffic circle, Tallat al-Ruways and to the Defense Ministry. In this tour, the prime minister was accompanied by the commander of the deployment operation, Brig Gen (Zuhayr al-Tamyir), and a number of high-ranking army officers.

As he stopped in these positions, Prime Minister al-Wazzan was given a detailed account by the officers about the deployment operation and the task undertaken by the members of each position. Prime Minister al-Wazzan shook hands with the soldiers and briefed them on the importance of the task assigned to them under the present circumstances.

In the positions on the Fu'ad al-Wawwal bridge and Sodeco, Prime Minister al-Wazzan told the officers and soldiers: You are in the heart of this area and you will be the symbol of uniting Lebanon. In the past, I tried to turn this area into the real bridge that unites dear Beirut. Our hope is that you will preserve security, reassure all the citizens and behave properly, thanks to your command and our modest leadership.

In the al-Mukallis traffic circle position, Prime Minister al-Wazzan was given a detailed account by the officers responsible for the distribution of men and weapons about yesterday's incident involving the Israelis. The officers affirmed that they had prevented the Israeli vehicles from advancing in implementation of the orders given to them and that they were all alerted and barred the way of the advancing vehicles with their own vehicles. They expressed their readiness to repulse any advance whatever the price.

In the position at the entrance to the Defense Ministry, the officers emphasized their constant readiness to prevent any foreign advance toward the ministry. They gave Prime Minister al-Wazzan an account of an incident that occurred this morning when two Israeli vehicles stopped opposite their position in a provocative manner.

At the conclusion of his tour, Prime Minister al-Wazzan expressed his satisfaction with what has been achieved and said:

[begin recording] In the wake of the important, rather very important decision we had made for the deployment of the army in all Beirut and its suburbs--the so-called greater Beirut--we had to reassure ourselves that this step is proceeding according to the plan we had charted whether from the security standpoint or the political standpoint in general. For this reason, I made this tour today together with the security officials, particularly the command of the operation Brig Gen (Zuhayr al-Tamyir) and his aides. Naturally, I have been very satisfied with the readiness I saw by the soldiers and their commands to carry out the task assigned them in a sound, beneficial and encouraging manner. God willing, we shall succeed in this step. This step must certainly be followed by other steps in the future to establish Lebanese authority over every inch of Lebanese territory. I congratulated the soldiers for their good preparedness. In the conversation I had with these soldiers, I felt their readiness, as soldiers and Lebanese citizens, to serve Lebanon with the highest possible standard. I can say I have been satisfied with what I saw during this tour. However, I have some observations; I do not deny this. I shall communicate these observations to the quarters concerned because we always seek to achieve the best. Nevertheless, I have been very satisfied and I congratulate the forces undertaking this task and their commands for what they have done so far. [end recording]

CSO: 4400/208

DANY SHAM'UN INTERVIEW ON 'EXTRA CABINET'

NC161155 Beirut MONDAY MORNING in English 7-13 Feb 83 pp 22-27

[Interview with former chief of the National Liberation Party Dany Sham'un by Claude Khoury Beirut MONDAY MORNING; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Dany Sham'un, former chief of the rightist National Liberal Party's militia, announced last week that efforts were underway to secularize, expand and demilitarize the predominantly Christian NLP.

Sham'un, in a private interview with MONDAY MORNING, also revealed that plans were progressing for the creation of a high-powered Lebanese "extra-cabinet" to map out the political future of Lebanon in cooperation with President Amin al-Jumayyil.

Dany Sham'un, son of NPL leader and former president Camille Sham'un, resigned his post in the party and moved to London in 1980, after the NLP militia was crippled by a major attack by its ally, the militia of the Phalangist (Kata'ib) Party.

He is now back in Lebanon, looking for an apartment in Beirut.

"Dany Sham'un is back in the full meaning of the expression," he told me. "I am going to be personally active on all the fronts where I have been active before--from contracting (he is a civil engineer by profession) to politics."

His major political activity so far has been a series of meetings with prominent Muslim and Christian leaders to discuss the possibility of creating a supreme political body to decide on the future political system of Lebanon.

The following is the full interview, which was conducted in English:

[Question: Are we witnessing the return of Dany Sham'un to Lebanon?

[Answer] Let's put it this way: Dany Sham'un is back in Lebanon in the full meaning of the expression. I am back. I am going to be personally active on all the fronts where I have been active before--from contracting to politics. Contracting, civil engineering, was my former business, and I will be helping my father politically if he requires my help.

[Question] You are planning to live in Beirut?

[Answer] Yes. I am still looking for an apartment, like everyone else.

[Question] Concerning the National Liberal Party--didn't you resign your posts in it?

[Answer] I had resigned my post in the party and I am now working on a personal level, as an assistant to my father.

[Question] Are you thinking of doing something on your own, other than the NLP?

[Answer] I always do something on my own.

[Question] Yes, but I mean in terms of starting a new party.

[Answer] A party? No, there is no question of that; I wouldn't form any party or anything like that; the idea does not exist. But if President Sham'un wants to reform the National Liberal Party...I think there should be a deep reform of the NLP, since we are no longer in the militia phase. The party has always enjoyed a wide political base, but unfortunately, in 1975 it was driven into a purely Christian front. I have been advising my father to go back into a wide national representation and to come up with a definite political platform for the development of the future of Lebanon. I think the National Liberal Party should be developed as a purely political party, on a wide national base, with a national program. It is time for parties in Lebanon to work on that basis. Politics in Lebanon should be cleared of personal issues and should shift to national themes. Political parties should play a wider role than they have been playing, thus giving more people the opportunity to be involved in politics.

[Question] More people in the NLP--meaning that the NLP should no longer be confined to Christians?

[Answer] The National Liberal Party was never an exclusively Christian party, but it was driven into that position by the events of 1975 because it had a predominantly Christian representation within its ranks. We have always tried to avoid this in the party and we have had many non-Christian members. This is the way the National Liberal Party should develop. After all, it is the National Liberal Party.

[Question] You say the NLP is out of the militia phase. How do you reconcile this with the fact that the party is still a member of the Lebanese forces?

[Answer] There is NLP representation in the command council, or whatever they call it now in the Lebanese front. But as I said, militia rule is now dwindling and it should be gradually reduced. I believe in the new step that President al-Jumayyil is taking. There will be no more need for militias. We have always been for the state, for the resurrection of state institutions and for the establishment of equal security, equal law and order for everyone in the country. This is exactly the line I was speaking about.



[Question] And President Sham'un agrees with you on this?

[Answer] Absolutely, absolutely.

[Question] How would you evaluate your relations with President al-Jumayyil today?

[Answer] Excellent, I would say.

[Question] And with the Lebanese forces?

[Answer] Good. There is an exchange of views taking place.

[Question] You visited the south recently. What was the aim of the visit?

[Answer] The aim was to reassure the people in the south of the continued interest in their affairs, and I came back reassured of their interest in our affairs and of their absolute, 100 percent loyalty to Lebanon and to Lebanon's issues. I think they have been neglected to a tremendous degree by past governments. The whole affair of the southern enclave and major Sa'd Haddad was very badly handled by previous governments. Things should never have been allowed to come to this. They should have continued to receive maximum assistance from the Lebanese Government, because they are Lebanese. It is time that somebody pressed for a change. And although I visited only the Christian villages of the enclave, this applies to the rest of the south. The south has always been a sore point in Lebanon; it has always been neglected. I think we should start somewhere, and this is one place we should start from; we should put maximum Lebanese effort into all those regions. I know Beirut requires a lot, but as I told the people in the south, what's the use of a hand without fingers?

[Question] The impression is that Sa'd Haddad and his men are closer to the NLP than to the Kata'ib, and the impression appears to have been confirmed by your visit to the enclave.

[Answer] I don't think the impression is correct. They are just pure Lebanese. We appreciate pure Lebanese stands, and this is why we have a lot of interest in their welfare.

[Question] There have been press reports that you intend to open party offices throughout Lebanon. Is that true?

[Answer] Part of the policy of the new party, if you want to call it that, is to do away with a lot of offices. They're a burden and a nuisance. A political party does not require branches--they're a nuisance to the populace, they create a lot of local animosity, and the time for them is gone. We had offices before for the sake of recruitment, for militia purposes, but as I said, those days are hopefully over.

So there is no question of us opening new offices and branches. That would be too damn expensive and it would be a negative political move. People should be allowed to go about their work, and politics doesn't need offices. If you have a national policy, you have a national consensus about it, and that is the way we believe things should work.



[Question] [Former] President Sham'un made a statement to L'ORIENT-LE JOUR this week which seems to indicate a new attitude towards Israel. Would you elaborate on that statement?

[Answer] I think President Sham'un's statement is elaborate enough to be self-explanatory.

[Question] He spoke harshly about Israeli policy....

[Answer] Well, that is President Sham'un's statement and, as I said, it is self-explanatory.

[Question] What is your position on the Israeli-Lebanese talks?

[Answer] First of all, the talks were too late in coming, in my opinion, which left too many openings for many things to interfere in them. Anyone who thinks these talks shouldn't take place is behaving like an ostrich. There was a war, a destructive war; the Israelis are here, and the sooner we clear up our position with the Israelis and look to our future the better. We should also discuss the situation of the Palestinians with the Israelis, because the Palestinians are still here as refugees, which poses a social problem for us, and it also poses a lot of problems for the Israelis. Even with the presence of the Israeli army here, Israeli soldiers are dying every day because of the Palestinians, although the shelling of their northern border areas has stopped.

So let us first of all regularize our situation with the Israelis.

[Question] Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects of Israeli withdrawal in 1983?

[Answer] I think there will be a withdrawal under a phased withdrawal plan--which means total withdrawal from Lebanon. We cannot accept anything that infringes on our sovereignty and our rights as Lebanese. Eventually we can sign a complete peace treaty with Israel within the general Arab framework--a peace treaty which does not damage our relations with the Arabs or sever the umbilical cord that we have with the Arab world. Then there would be no need for security borders or anything like that; we would exist as two peaceful countries next to each other.

[Question] The NLP has always played a role in the al-Shuf, and until the summer of 1982, there were no major confrontations there between the Druze and the Christians, thanks in part to President Sham'un's position there. Is the NLP trying to defuse the al-Shuf situation now?

[Answer] We are playing a role, a very positive role. Certain parts of the al-Shuf are still calm, they should remain calm, and calm should return to the other al-Shuf areas.

The fighting in the al-Shuf and 'Alayh is like "licking a file," if I may borrow an expression from Arabic. It will not be productive in any way whatsoever; it is politically and demographically negative and should be stopped immediately, no

matter who is trying to perpetuate it. I think the Lebanese should be honest with themselves and face up to the fact that fratricidal warfare in Lebanon is unproductive and should cease immediately.

[Question] But what concrete action are you and your father taking to defuse the situation?

[Answer] We are against any fighting among the Lebanese; there must be no fratricidal combat--that is an absolute policy line. If there are any problems among the Lebanese, there are always political avenues towards a solution.

[Question] But what, in concrete terms, can you do to drive this point home?

[Answer] Reasoning with the combatants and trying to get a rapprochement between them. The ideal thing, of course, would be for the Lebanese Government to take the initiative, deploy the army in the area of combat and pacify the region, but of course, as you know, there are other elements involved, so that is proving a bit difficult to do.

[Question] What are your immediate plans?

[Answer] In discussions with the President, I am pressing for the creation of a chamber made up of prominent political personalities to work out a future political system for Lebanon. I don't think that the 1943 argument is viable--I have always said it is not viable--and I think it is the duty of those prominent political figures to create, in conjunction with the presidency, a future political system.

[Question] Have you received positive reactions on this?

[Answer] There are positive vibes from the leaders I have met. They are all interested. Walid Junblatt has expressed his desire for the creation of such a body. So I think it would be wise for the president to pull those personalities together and create some form of extra-cabinet, making them responsible for the planning of Lebanon's new political system.

[Question] Do you believe this is the right time to form this extra-cabinet?

[Answer] Before now, there has always been some occupation army which has prevented the Lebanese from getting together and coming up with something like this. But now there is no excuse; I think it should happen now. It would go well with the president's idea of creating a greater Beirut as a nucleus of growth, as the yolk out of which everything would grow and the Lebanese state would take control of all Lebanese territory.

[Question] With whom have you discussed this idea so far?

[Answer] I have had a prolonged meeting with [former] Premier Salam, and he has expressed his willingness to participate. I have had a meeting with [former] President Sham'un, of course, and he too has expressed his willingness. I had talks with Walid Junblatt in Jordan--we had several meetings there, and we have

an excellent, open-channels relationship with Walid, as you know. And this morning, I had the opportunity to meet the [former] Premier Taqiy al-Din al-Sulh.

I think everybody is welcoming the idea, and this gives us the opportunity to launch it now. I do believe that President al-Jumayyil has the same idea at the back of his mind, but it has to be developed.

[Question] Have you discussed it with President al-Jumayyil?

[Answer] Well, in an oblique way, we came to this idea. I think it is a good idea.

[Question] You seem to have come back with several ideas for the new Lebanon. Any others?

[Answer] What Lebanon has been missing is the direct involvement of the public in its politics. There is a public opinion that cannot express itself, so it is left to the leaders to decide public opinion. I think there should be a system by which the public can become more and more involved in their own political affairs and administration, instead of cursing the central government whenever they see a bad road. Such a system would give the government a longer term, instead of having a cabinet every six months, as has been the case in the past, which has prevented any government from achieving anything. Also, if a government comes in backed by public opinion, you can have a proper government and a proper opposition, and you can therefore create a national policy, which has been lacking in Lebanon.

I am a firm believer in public opinion, and I have suffered because of the lack of public opinion expression in the past. There were many times when I knew that public opinion was with my objectives but it was unable to express itself because the machinery was not there. There should be institutions, such as political parties, that allow the people to express their ideas directly to the government through their representatives, and this is only possible if you have a proper government and a proper opposition.

[Question] Speaking about public opinion, do you plan to visit other parts of Lebanon as you did the southern enclave?

[Answer] I will be visiting as many parts of Lebanon as I have access to. I started with the south because I have special consideration for the people there, but I will be visiting many other villages, getting to know the people, getting an assessment of public opinion to formulate our party policy. We want an expression of public opinion. We are assessing public requirements and claims so that our party can express itself in line with the majority of public opinion.

[Question] Have you received favorable reactions from the people you have visited so far?

[Answer] Yes. They want involvement, and they should be involved. Everybody wants a change in this system. This is the first time we have a young president who is full of ideas, and we should institute changes. We have come out of a horrible war, and we cannot say there was no Lebanese issue involved in the war; there was, and if no change is instituted, the problems will remain with us. We must produce a change for our future generations. We cannot be rigid. No country in the world has been successful with a rigid political system.

GEORGE HAWI ADDRESSES PNC SESSION

PM251553 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 16 Feb 83 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Lebanese Nationalists Alongside Palestinian Revolution"]

[Text] "The Arab-Israeli struggle is a struggle for existence and not a struggle for drawing borders," Mr George Hawi said in a speech on the Lebanese National Front's behalf to the participants in the 16th Palestinian National Council [PNC] session yesterday afternoon [15 February].

"The Lebanese Nationalists," he said, "are fully aware of this fact and maintain that they still side with the Palestinian revolution and reiterate the unity of the various Lebanese nationalist forces with the Palestinian people and their revolution whatever its results, the most outstanding being the battle for Beirut."

Mr Hawi then discussed the situation prevailing in Beirut, especially after the Palestinian resistance's glorious exit from the Lebanese capital.

"Some people thought that the affair was closed with that departure but in fact it was only just starting because the Israeli aggression against Lebanon was not just directed at the Palestinian resistance since Israel's designs on Lebanon are not new," he stated.

Mr George Hawi then stated: "It is now obvious that the Palestinian revolution was not the sole cause of that aggression. Following Israel's demands for the Palestinian resistance and the Syrian forces to be excluded from Lebanon, it is that country which is becoming the target of Israel which is working for the creation of micro-states in the Middle East region which would fall under U.S.-Zionist control."

Mr George Hawi then stated that the struggle against the Israeli occupation forces is now the Lebanese nationalists' main mission. "We swear that Lebanon will not be an easy prey for Israel and the United States, the fight will continue."

"The United States alone," Mr Hawi said, "bears responsibility for the massacres perpetrated in Beirut. It is it which is encouraging the Zionists and urging them to perpetrate more crimes against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and the whole Arab nation to impose its hegemony over the whole Near East region."

Mr George Hawi also stated that any settlement of the Near East crisis necessarily depends on rejection of the "Reagan plan" and opposition to any U.S. leadership in the search for a solution to the conflict.

"As long as the U.S. administration continues to interfere in Near East questions we cannot hope for a solution to the problem which would take account of the Palestinian people's right to return, to self-determination and to establish an independent state in occupied Palestine," Mr Hawi added.

The Lebanese National Movement representative urged the PNC to safeguard national unity and independence in the Palestinian decisionmaking process whatever the results. "We attach great importance," he said, "to Palestinian national unity which alone guarantees our existence."

In addition Mr George Hawi launched an appeal to the Arab countries and to all progressive forces in the world to provide more support for the Palestinian revolution in its fight to recover its legitimate rights.

He called for support for the Lebanese national forces in their struggle to restore Lebanese sovereignty. "It will be," Mr Hawi said, "a veritable bomb which will explode in the face of U.S. imperialism and Israel."

Finally, Mr George Hawi said that there cannot be peace and stability in the Near East without recognition of the Palestinian people's rights.

CSO: 4400/222

REPORT ON RECEIPT OF FIRST LEBANESE UNDERGROUND STATEMENT

LD251418 Kuwait KUNA in English 1807 GMT 24 Feb 83

[Report by Muhammad Salam]

[Text] Beirut, Feb 24 (KUNA)--The underground "Lebanese Nationalist Resistance Front" (LNRF), which has been launching repeated attacks against the Israeli army in Lebanon, Thursday called on the population to participate in the "armed struggle against Zionist occupation."

The LNRF, in its first-ever written statement received by KUNA-Beirut Bureau, was addressed to "Our honest-nationalist people."

The statement was found in KUNA-Beirut's mail box. It was issued to coincide with the eighth anniversary of the killing of Sidon of Nasirite parliamentarian-leader [name indistinct] just before outbreak of the civil war in 1975.

Said, father of independent Nasirite organization leader Mustafa, was shot to death by an unidentified person while leading a demonstration across the Sidon's main road al-Solh [spelling of name as received could be Riyadh al-Soth] Street supporting demands of local fishermen.

The LNRF statement stressed on the "rejection" by the Lebanese population of "any economic dealing with the Zionist occupiers."

The underground front, at the same time, issued a "warning to any one who establishes any sort of relationship with the occupation forces."

The statement called on the Lebanese to take part in "the armed struggle and confrontation against the Zionist occupation to liberate the Lebanese territories."

The front, previously, used to issue responsibility declarations for anti-Israel attacks through telephone contacts with Beirut-based "Voice of Arab Lebanon" (VOAL) Radio Station, organ of Ibrahim Qulayat's "Independent Nasirite Movement" which sponsors the "Murabitun Militia."



The statement, received by KUNA--if genuine--is the first-ever written document released by the LNRF.

The statement was signed "The homeland or death...we shall be victorious.

"The Lebanese Nationalist Resistance Front, "Sidon"

It wasn't clear from the statement whether the front is based in the southern Lebanese provincial capital occupied by Israel 45 kilometers from Beirut, or was it just issued by the Sidon branch of the front.

The statement addressed a direct "death to all traitors, mercenaries and collaborators with the Zionist occupation forces and their agents."

The LNRF statement called on natives of Israeli-occupied regions to "reject any dealings with whatever organizations or groups that came to being after the occupation."

The front, in its statement, announced that it "embraces the Palestinian resolution and the struggle for the sacred Arab cause, Palestine."

The statement, furthermore, declared its "rejection and confrontation of all methods adopted by fascist militias to displace Lebanese and Palestinian civilians."

The statement, however, didn't clearly identify any of the militias it mentioned.

The document concluded by stressing that "all hands...all rifles are directed against the Zionist enemy."

CSO: 4400/222

## BRIEFS

FRG SUPPORTS FOREIGN WITHDRAWALS--FRG Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Moellemann explained the purpose of his visit to Lebanon at a press conference he held this afternoon at the German Embassy in Beirut. The German minister of state said: I had discussions with Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan, deputy speaker of the Chamber of Deputies Munir Abu Fadil and Foreign Minister Dr Elie Salim during which I briefed them on the FRG's stand on the subjects of the hour, international issues and bilateral relations. I also heard Lebanon's assessment on these subjects. The German minister emphasized his country's unconditional support of the demand that all foreign forces withdraw from Lebanon and that Lebanon regain its complete sovereignty and authority over all Lebanese territory. He said that the FRG Government supports this demand with all means available to it, both within the bilateral framework and the framework of its presidency of the current session of the European Community. The FRG minister of state expressed his country's readiness to contribute to rebuilding Lebanon and to implement projects within the framework of the capabilities available between the two countries as well to provide humanitarian aid. [Text] [NC152127 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 15 Feb 83]

U.S. SUPPORT--The United States has renewed its support of Lebanon on the eve of the 16th round of the tripartite negotiations, which were held in Netanya in Israel today. The United States has shown desire to increase its contribution to the multinational force and affirmed at the same time the need of granting Lebanon financial assistance because it really deserves it. However, it appears--according to reports attributed to Israeli officials--that the Israeli Government proposes to raise the question of the border militias in the core of the tripartite negotiations. It is known that Lebanon has affirmed several times that this is a domestic question and any interference in it is not permitted. The question will be resolved in accordance with the Lebanese laws in force. The Lebanese delegation is expected to note the frictions which took place between the Lebanese army and the IDF in al-Mukalllis and in Monte Verde area. [Excerpt] [NC171242 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 17 Feb 83]

SOVIET, PRC ENVOYS--Chamber of Deputies speaker Kamil al-As'ad this morning reviewed the internal situation with Soviet charge d'affaires (Yuriy Suslikov). After the meeting, the charge d'affaires said that he conveyed to speaker al-As'ad the appeal which was made last December during the joint session of the



CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to all parliaments, governments, political parties and peoples and which is connected with the question of peace, disarmament and preservation of world peace. Speaker al-As'ad then received the PRC ambassador to Lebanon, who later expressed his country's support of the government's steps in Lebanon to restore the Lebanese state's authority. [Text] [NC161228 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 16 Feb 83]

PRESIDENT THREATENS RESIGNATION--Circles close to U.S. envoy Philip Habib have stated that Habib will leave Beirut for Israel for talks with Israeli officials on the withdrawals plan. The circles said that Habib will meet with Begin and Shamir to brief them on the results of his talks in Lebanon and to emphasize the need for achieving progress in the current negotiations. Quoting Habib, the circles affirmed that the Lebanese Government has officially communicated to him its categorical rejection of the impossible Israeli conditions, emphasizing its right to regain its sovereignty on all its territory without anything in return. The government's stand has been revealed by the newspaper AL-ITTIHAD which is published in the UAE. Quoting what it described as informed sources, the newspaper said that Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil has threatened to resign if he is unable to establish the state's full authority [over all its territory] beginning with greater Beirut. The newspaper attributed to the same sources the statement that President al-Jumayyil has emphasized his refusal to be another Sarkis [former president] holding power but not ruling, according to the newspaper. The sources added that President al-Jumayyil's threat to resign came during his meeting with some political and military leaders while discussing placing greater Beirut under the state's authority and disarming it. It is worth noting in this respect, that the president of the republic is expected to repeat his threat to resign this evening during the cabinet's extraordinary session which will be dedicated to discussing all the political and security developments. [Text] [NC141414 (Clandestine) Voice of Arab Lebanon in Arabic 1330 GMT 14 Feb 83]

ARMS CACHE REPORT--Within the framework of the military steps taken by the Lebanese army command in Beirut, the army command this morning issued the following communique: The citizens are warned of the need to report to the nearest military post about the places which house arms and ammunition stores. Failing to do so, the owner and the doorman of the building shall be held responsible for the contents of all the closed stores and prosecuted before the military courts. [Text] [NC241812 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1645 GMT 24 Feb 83]

SALAM MEETS AL-JUMAYYIL--President Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil met with former Prime Minister Sa'ib Salam this morning. They reviewed local issues for 1 1/2 hours, including the removal of occupation from Lebanon. After the meeting former Prime Minister Salam said a detailed review was made of all current issues. He emphasized that priority must be given to removing the occupation. He said: All of us are seeking and cooperating for removing the

Israeli occupation from the south because we cannot advance even one step as long as this occupation continues. He added: The current negotiations are receiving everybody's attention. We are holding consultations on these negotiations and are seeking to bring them to a conclusion. Despite my desire not to indulge in optimism, I say that we are proceeding on the road and I hope that we will reach a conclusion in the not too distant future. Talking about the blizzard tragedy and the report of the investigation committee which has been acted upon by the government, he called for the publication of the report, declaring that this will consolidate the government's position with regard to the measures it has taken. [Text] [NC281222 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 28 Feb 83]

JUBB JANNIN REINFORCEMENT--Sa'd Haddad's militias reinforced their positions in the township of Jubb Jannin in the al-Biqa' yesterday by introducing new tanks and vehicles from the Marj 'Uyun barracks into the township. The materiel was accompanied by an IDF officer. The new force took up positions in the Jubb Nannin government house from where the gendarmes were expelled and members of the militias took up positions a week ago. In the south the occupation forces have carried out an extensive combing operation on the al-Nabatiyah road between the townships of Dayr al-Zahrani and Habbush and detained a number of citizens. [Text] [NC010656 (Clandestine) Voice of Arab Lebanon in Arabic 0530 GMT 1 Mar 83]

BLIZZARD DISASTER--We have just been handed a report stating that the emergency cabinet session ended a few minutes ago. The cabinet discussed two topics: the first topic was the report submitted by the commission of inquiry into the blizzard disaster, and the second dealt with the atmosphere and results of the long day of Lebanese-U.S. talks. Concerning the first topic, that is, the commission of inquiry into the blizzard calamity, the report states that four civil servants will possibly be put on trial. [Text] [NC251810 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1715 GMT 25 Feb 83]

AL-AS'AD, HABIB MEET--Within the framework of his efforts in Beirut, Ambassador Philip Habib today met with Chamber of Deputies speaker Kamil al-As'ad. Habib had earlier met with Prime Minister al-Wazzan and [former] Prime Minister Sa'ib Salam. After his meeting with the U.S. envoy, speaker al-As'ad said that he emphasized adherence to Lebanese sovereignty and rejection of any measure that will detract from Lebanon's role in the area and the world. Speaker al-As'ad stressed, with regard to the termination of the state of war, that this should not constitute normalization--in a sense of normal relations. He also stressed that the security forces which are to maintain security in the border areas should be Lebanese army forces. He emphasized that a comprehensive program for withdrawals be worked out according to a specific timetable. [Text] [NC242120 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1715 GMT 24 Feb 83]

LOCAL COMMITTEES REJECTED--The government has received a petition signed by 17 mayors and mukhtars representing the villages of the Bint Jubayl and Marj 'Uyun District in which they say that the inhabitants of these villages reject the formation of so-called local committees or military establishments which do not come under the authority of legitimacy. [Text] [NC270652 (Clandestine) Voice of Arab Lebanon in Arabic 0530 GMT 27 Feb 83]

SYRIAN CONCENTRATIONS--According to security sources, there are large Syrian concentrations in the northern area. The concentrations include groups of special units and red cavaliers. [al-Fursan al-Humr]. The sources pointed out that the Syrians are trying to introduce thousands of 'Alawite families, which carry legal or forged Lebanese nationality [documents], into Tripoli and its suburbs so that, in the future, this Syrian [military] presence will be regarded as a must to protect the 'Alawites who will be made to appear as persecuted minority. [Text] [NC241906 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1645 GMT 24 Feb 83]

CSO: 4400/222

'ARAFAT DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH, EXPECTATIONS FROM EGYPT

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3038, 31 Dec 82 pp 4-11

[Interview with PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat by Makram Muhammad Ahmad:  
"Yasir 'Arafat in Important Interview with AL-MUSAWWAR: What I Can Accept and Cannot Accept; I Accept Joint Jordanian-Palestinian Delegation, Provided Organization Has Right to Name Palestinian People's Representatives; Complete Agreement With King Husayn on Confederal Formula; Whether Confederalism Is to Precede or Follow Palestinian State Is Detail on Which Agreement Can Be Reached Later; I Told Lebanese Delegation Which Visited Me in Tunis Recently: Withdrawal of Remaining Palestinian Fighters from al-Biqa' and North Is Tied to Approval of Lebanese People and Their President, Amin al-Jumayyil; Egypt's Place Is Still Vacant Because All Have Failed to Replace Its Leading Role; I Urge All to Encourage Dialogue with Peace and Democracy Forces in Israel; If We Really Want Just Peace, Then We Must Bolster Present Arab Capability; Arabs Have Spent Billions of Dollars on Iraq-Iran War, so Why Don't They Spend to Bolster Their Capability Versus Israeli Domination; I Asked Lebanese and Multi-National Forces for Guarantees for 400,000 Palestinians We Left Behind There; To Whom, Other Than Egypt, Should I Turn Now to Bolster Our Steadfastness in Order to Preserve Palestinian People's Right; Egyptian-Palestinian Relations Are Strategic Necessity to Face Challenges of Near Future; Americans Seek Dialogue With Organization Whenever Dialogue Is in Their Interest But Procrastinate When Dialogue Is in Interest of Palestinian People; Kissinger Violated His Pledge not to Hold Dialogue With Organization When He Asked for Our Assistance in Getting American Citizens Out of Beirut; Ask U.S. Administration With Whom It Was Talking Throughout 3 Months Preceding Our Withdrawal from Lebanon"]

[Text] Seven days ago, the telephone rang and the voice was that of a Palestinian friend in Tunis telling me that if I still wanted to meet Abu 'Ammar, he was ready for the meeting.

After midnight last Thursday, the friend knocked at the door of my hotel room to take me to meet 'Arafat.

The car traveled with us for 25 miles on the road leading west from the Tunisian capital before turning right to a sparse forest of pine trees at the end of which lies a small tourist hotel overlooking the coast and bearing the name of Salwa.

Until last summer, the hotel was a nudist colony for European youths fond of the Tunisian coast. But here it is now carrying a sign which says: The provisional headquarters of the PLO. What strange fates!

At the gate to the place, Tunisian security men stopped us and asked for personal identity cards and passports before letting us in.

The hotel doors are painted pink. The front lobby is lit by bright-colored lanterns issuing a soft light. Some of the organization's cadres are scattered in the lobby. No feeling of comfort permeates the place. The faces are pinched by a silent and tormenting pain. I did not see a single Kalashnikoff in the place. I did not hear the shouting and the din they used to make at their headquarters in Sabra even under the darkest circumstances. They move with heavy steps and are oppressed by boredom. What are they doing in this place which one of them has jokingly called Kibbutz Salwa!

Abu 'Ammar's room is on the second floor. Two guards stand at his door with their submachineguns.

Abu 'Ammar had just ended a meeting with the members of the PLO Higher Executive Committee. Twelve persons had come from 10 various Arab countries to discuss a single topic: The future relations of the PLO with Egypt, Jordan and Syria.

'Arafat had also received an official Lebanese delegation carrying a message from Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil on withdrawal of the Palestine resistance's remaining forces from al-Biqa' and North Lebanon.

While walking up to his room, I remembered that this was my third meeting with him since 1970.

I met him and his colleagues in the Jarash and 'Ajlun forests in the wake of the September [1970] events after they had been ousted by the Jordanian army from the capital of Jordan. He and his colleagues were surrounded when an Egyptian plane came to carry him to the last Arab summit in 'Abd al-Nasir's life.

I met him again at his headquarters in Sabra. There was incessant shelling around the place. But there was also another glow. We laughed and discussed things while sitting around a tray filled with watermelon sections. The youth were more active. The Lebanese civil war had erupted and the Palestinians, Muslims and poor Shi'ites who had fled the constant Israeli shelling of South Lebanon villages had formed an alliance in the face of the Phalanges and the Palestinians had become an unwilling side in the Lebanese problem. With the complication of the conditions and with the illegal intervention in the Palestinian action by numerous Arab states which had set up many shops in the name of the revolution and under numerous Palestinian names and with the violent polarization which occurred in Lebanon--a country from which nobody wanted to lift his hand--Tunisia's Salwa has become the final stop so far--a final stop removed 2,500 miles from Jordan's western valley, from Palestine's soil.

Sixty miles further from Salwa and in a semi-abandoned area lies the camp of the fighters who were the first to depart from Beirut. They were 1,000 men who are now reduced to 800 men or a little more. Some of them have left for Algeria and others returned to their families in the Gulf or to various other places.

I was overwhelmed by the desire to embrace 'Arafat in his room while his men are distributed over 9 Arab countries and while he himself is awaiting another wave of departure comprised of 9,000 Palestinian fighters who are at present in al-Biqa' and North Lebanon.

I wondered: Could it have been possible to meet him all 3 times in a different place and under different circumstances?

But the answer was a chain of hard and bitter collapses which are still engulfing our Arab situation.

Our dialogue continued until 0600. The physicians entered to take him to an acupuncture session. Two of the Moroccan doctors had been sent by King Hassan because 'Arafat is suffering from severe pain in his right wrist as a result of stones which fell on it during the fierce battle of West Beirut which lasted 88 days.

Because he started by speaking at length of Egypt, his last hope, his biggest love and his expected refuge, I had to ask him first:

[Question] What, specifically, are you asking Egypt for at present?

[Answer] I am asking for what the youngest brother asks of his eldest brother and what an afflicted brother asks of the head of the family. The Palestinian cause has always been a part of the Egyptian people's conscience, intellect, heart and awareness. All these are facts that go beyond my saying what I want specifically from Egypt at present. I want all of Egypt. I believe I have the right to ask for this. I want Egypt to stand behind the Palestinian cause with all its weight, forces, civilization, history and influence because if Egypt does not stand with the Palestinians in their present tribulation, then who else can stand with them? To whom can I turn if I don't turn to Egypt while we are in this tribulation?

The tribulation is not just Palestinian. It is Arab. The Arab nation is currently undergoing its most serious phase and the issue is whether to be or not to be because despite our constant appeal for just peace, Israel wants to impose its full domination over the area. This requires us, the Arabs, to completely reexamine all the positions at all levels.

We have to reconsider even our petty traditions [sic].

I am not talking poetry or sentiments. I am saying that the danger engulfs all. There is a dangerous onslaught against the area. The Israelis entered Beirut yesterday and they are threatening Amman today. I am afraid that we are again approaching the division of this area, which is very much like a human mosaic, into sectarian kingdoms. We must ask ourselves: Have we actually entered the era of the sectarian kings?



Moshe Sharit, the first Israeli minister of foreign affairs, always said: I only need one officer with the rank of major to set up the Maronite state and they need a similar officer to set up the Druze state and the 'Alawite state.

This visualization is now crystallized in Lebanon in a bitter reality which we must all keep in mind when reassessing the positions.

It is also a fact that without Egypt's leadership role, the situation remains vacant. I believe that it is Egypt's responsibility to restore the psychological balance to the area because Israel has gone beyond the role of the policeman to that of the partner. Egypt is now required to embark on a historic dramatic step to restore psychological balance to the Arab situation.

What Is Required of Egypt Now?

[Question] In what direction should be the dramatic step you desire to restore psychological balance to the Arab situation?

[Answer] In all directions.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, I will be more explicit. Is Egypt required at present to tear the peace treaty with Israel while the Arabs are moving in the direction of the peace option?

[Answer] First, if the Arabs are talking of peace without building the force capable of preserving peace, then this peace will not be the comprehensive and just peace we are seeking. In the wake of the Camp David accords, the Israelis have tried to establish enormous superiority in weapons and equipment while the Arabs have not been able to do so. I am fully convinced that neither the world nor the Israelis will accept any peace plan from the Arab world if the Arabs are not adequately strong.

It is unfair for the area to live under the fear that the Israelis will do in Amman or any other Arab capital what they have done in Beirut or the fear that they will again invade the Sinai suddenly. Nothing can achieve just and equal peace except the presence of a force capable of safeguarding this peace.

I don't believe that anybody will disagree with me if I say that even the Egyptian-Israeli peace which I have not approved cannot be protected while the Israeli military strength is growing in this fearful manner.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, do you think that building the Arab strength is the responsibility of Egypt alone?

[Answer] [Word or words presumably dropped] but I do believe that Egypt shoulders an enormous responsibility in this regard. The Gaza Strip was Egypt's responsibility because Gaza was Palestinian territory under Egyptian supervision, the same way the two islands of Sanafir and Tiran

were Saudi territory under Egyptian supervision. Isn't it the right of Egypt and of the Egyptian citizens to ask today how the Israelis withdraw from Sanafir and Tiran and not from Gaza, considering that they were all under Egyptian supervision?

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, had the Egyptians acted on or agreed to act on Gaza's future independently of the Bank's future, they would have been accused of selling the Bank and Jerusalem in return for imposing their supervision over Gaza anew. They would have also been accused of fragmenting the Palestinian problem and of leaving the bank to its inevitable fate.

[Answer] You have asked me what Egypt can do and I am telling you that Egypt has no option other than to re-embrace the Palestinian issue and the Palestinians. You will then see how the balances of power in the area will change.

[Question] It is perhaps beneficial to ask you: Don't you see progress in the Egyptian position, in its current rejection of all forms of Israeli blackmail and its insistence on the Palestinians' right to self-determination as the only acceptable interpretation of the Camp David accords? Don't you believe that Egypt is now performing its duty toward the Palestinian issue, at least within the limits of its present capacity?

[Answer] I would be unfair if I didn't say that President Mubarak has inherited a situation for which nobody can blame him. But let us ask together: How can the present Arab position overcome its dilemma, keeping in mind that we all know that there is no overcoming the dilemma without Egypt?

It is your right to ask on the other hand: What have you left Egypt which is exhausted by its economic problem and its heavy burden? I say now that it is more fitting for the Arab monies that have been supporting the Deutschemark, the U.S. dollar and the French franc to be assisting, in fulfillment of the pan-Arab role, the new Egyptian position. This must be clear. Briefly, what I want is an Arab position committed to Egypt and an Egyptian position that rearranges matters in the area.

#### Horse Still Waiting for Its Rider

[Question] Let me again ask you: On what basis should the area's conditions be rearranged, on the basis of war or the basis of peace?

[Answer] On the basis of a just peace that preserves the Palestinians' national rights and that protects the Arab nation from this division and humiliation and steers it away from the ghost of sectarian mini-states, especially since all of this is a part of the Egyptian security's responsibility toward Egypt and toward Egypt's pan-Arab role which is still vacant in the Arab world.

I am telling you that the horse is still waiting for its rider. We are not asking the rider for the impossible and we are not turning our heads



toward the past. We are only asking that our efforts be united vis-a-vis the future because the future is engulfed in dangers. I am asking for a joint effort to establish the international legitimacy that has guaranteed the Palestinians the right to self-determination and to setting up their independent state.

[Question] Don't you think that the balances have changed so much in the area that it is no longer realistic to ask Egypt to shoulder the burden alone? The Egypt of the 1950's shouldered the burden of sacrificing for an incapable Arab world. But there is now in the Eastern Mediterranean an enormous oil wealth, the dreadful military hardware and even a population superiority equaling the Egyptian population numbers and the greater influence, by virtue of the oil wealth, on the western and NATO capitals.

[Answer] All this does not change Egypt's role, even though I say that the Arab nation which has spent billions of dollars on the Iraq-Iran war could have spent and could still spend on enhancing the Arab capability generally, and the Egyptian capability in particular, so that it may not be easy to blackmail all of us. I know that the cost of a single aircraft is perhaps enough to repair al-Jizah sewers and that the cost of a frigate is perhaps equal to an important part of [the costs of] solving the Cairo transportation problem. However, may I remind you that the Arabs offered President al-Sadat a sum of \$5 billions over a period of 10 years but that he refused the offer?

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, when did the offer come? After signing the agreement. Had Egypt accepted the offer, its nose would be in the dirt throughout history.

[Answer] Yet, this does not justify our disavowing our Arab nation. I departed from Beirut, carrying with me the problem of 400,000 Palestinians I had left there (to the mercy of the elements and the night visitors). I left with deep wounds sustained in a battle which we faced alone. Yet, I may not disavow the role that the Arab nation can create.

As I have already said, the issue, my dear man, is that the horse is still without its rider. They have all tried and they have all failed. Once again, I say that we are not asking for the impossible, we are only asking for the future.

[Question] Don't you think that during your blockade in Beirut, the Egyptian people surpassed all past things?

[Answer] I will not forget the sympathy I felt from Egypt when I was under the blockade. I will not forget Egypt, my big love, and I will not forget that those who dared penetrate the Beirut blockade to be with me for a few days were all Egyptians. I will not forget the lists of volunteers from all groups who wanted to come to fight with us. How could I forget this?

## Yusuf al-Siba'i Was Assassinated by Intelligence of Arab State

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, before Beirut, the Egyptian-Palestinian relations perhaps needed a long period of normalization. Don't you know how that crime which claimed the life of a man like Yusuf al-Siba'i for no clear reason shook the Egyptian conscience and how deeply it touched it?

[Answer] First, I object to and reject the word "normalization" because the Egyptian-Palestinian relations do not merit such words. But I will tell you that Yusuf al-Siba'i's assassination was arranged by an Arab intelligence agency which also sought [to assassinate] the organization's official spokesman, the director of its Information Department, the organization's representative in the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council and 2 other cadres. They took all those people hostages. Regrettably, what can I tell you, [considering that] an Egyptian paper had written a week earlier: There is a Palestinian commander who, it has become recently evident, is an Israeli spy and who cooperates with the Mosad. Was Abu Nidal, who had been hired by the intelligence of an Arab country to arrange al-Siba'i's assassination, a Palestinian commander? Some Arab countries have used him and are using his name now that he has developed a heart ailment and that he is nearly paralyzed. Why would we kill Yusuf al-Siba'i? Could I forget his stances of support for us? Could I forget the noble cable he sent me a few months before his death?

I state very clearly that the perpetrator of the crime of Yusuf al-Siba'i's assassination was the intelligence agency of one of the Arab countries and that the name of Abu Nidal and of a number of his organization members was used in this connection. There wasn't a single Palestinian among those arrested [for the crime].

[Question] There are reports to the effect that Baghdad has recently restricted Abu Nidal and has frozen his activity in response to the organization's request.

[Answer] This is not at all true because his groups are still operating. Isn't it strange that 2 disputing Arab countries are using the same name for their own purposes?

[Question] I am going to ask you frankly: Why have you rejected the idea of prior recognition of Israel, at least to further expose the Israeli position?

[Answer] You should not ask the victim to recognize the murderer. First give me recognition of my national rights which have been acknowledged by U.N. resolution No 373 and then ask me about the price. But for me to recognize the murderer while I am still without an identity, a homeland, a passport or land, then this is something difficult to accept. Do you know that the Palestinian faces a unique problem that is probably not faced by any other human being on earth. The Palestinian faces this sad question: Where is he to be buried, not only where to live?

I ask Egypt to tell all now: Lift your hands from the Palestinians. I want Egypt to say it to the Arabs and to the entire world.

[Question] I believe that Egypt has presented this idea to further besiege the Israelis who still (exploit) the concept of the Palestinian national charter which denies the Israelis' right to existence.

[Answer] Begin says that he rejects even the idea of prior recognition by the PLO. It is also my duty not to forget that the Likud alliance's political program denies the Palestinians the right to exist and views the Bank and Gaza as no more than a part of the land of the greater Israel. I must also not forget that the Labor Party program stipulates the right of Israeli settlement in the entire Bank. Why haven't I asked them to change their written and declared programs in advance? Why hasn't Egypt demanded that the Tehiya Party change its charters which call for restoration of the Sinai [to Israel]?

I believe that the alliance ruling Israel has locked its heart and closed its ears to any Palestinian rights.

Didn't President al-Sadat say: No war from now on? What has happened since then? The invasion of Lebanon and before the invasion, an uninterrupted chain of Israeli military adventures in the area, beginning with the ceaseless acts of violence in the Bank and Gaza and with raiding the Iraqi reactor.

I am afraid to tell you that the result of this prior recognition may be further Israeli tyranny.

[Question] Doesn't a Palestinian dialogue with the U.S. administration, a dialogue which constitutes one of the organization's goals at present, merit this prior recognition of Israel on your part, especially since the U.S. administration has underlined its readiness to send to you its ambassador in Tunis so that he may immediately begin the page of U.S.-Palestinian dialogue?

[Answer] Even though it was U.S. aircraft which shelled the Palestinian camps and despite the U.S. veto used by Jean Kirkpatrick all the time to block any resolution in the interest of the Palestinian people, I am-- despite these bitter experiences--a realistic man and I cannot tell you that we must ignore the United States. The United States is a superpower and it is in my interest to conduct dialogue with it and we are always ready to do so. But I ask:

Isn't it strange that the United States persists in its position of rejecting the right of self-determination for 4 million Palestinians while supporting and backing the right of 1,800 people inhabiting the Falkland Islands to self-determination?

The Americans say that Kissinger got entangled and pledged to the Israelis that there will be no dialogue with the PLO unless there is prior Palestinian recognition of Israel. But I ask: Why did Kissinger himself breach

this pledge and agree to negotiate and hold dialogue with the PLO when they wanted the U.S. citizens evacuated from Beirut? Why did he agree to our joint efforts to get the U.S. citizens out of Beirut twice: Once in cooperation with the Sixth Fleet and another time in cooperation with Syria through the highway to Damascus and then to Latakia?

With whom was this U.S. dialogue held: With ghosts or with the organization? Let me ask again: With whom was Philip Habib negotiating in 1981 to reach agreement for a cease-fire w'th the Israelis? Did Philip Habib conclude the cease-fire agreement with ghosts or with the organization? Let me ask for a third time? In the last 3 months during which we were negotiating with Philip Habib over our departure from Beirut, with whom were the negotiations conducted?

The fact then is that the Americans have used this condition set by Kissinger according to their wishes and interests. If they find that the dialogue is in their interest, they rush to it and if they find that the dialogue concerns our rights, they remind us of the U.S. document given by Kissinger to the Israelis.

#### Did Philip Habib Negotiate With Ghosts

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, but Philip Habib has not negotiated with you face to face. The 1981 negotiations took place through Saudi Arabia and the recent Beirut negotiations took place through other middlemen, such as Sa'ib Salam.

[Answer] What does the heading of this document I am holding in my hand say: It says: "Observations From the U.S. Administration to the Liberation Organization." Wasn't this a direct contact?

This is the document which regulated our departure from Beirut, which the U.S. administration sent to me and over which we negotiated for 3 full months. But the problem is that the Americans want to block away the sun with their fingers, disregarding the events, documents and facts.

[Question] What could happen if you offer this prior and conditional recognition and then withdraw it if you feel that there is procrastination and illwill?

[Answer] Let me ask you frankly: What cards other than this recognition do I have in my hand? I don't have 44 million people, I don't have the Suez Canal and I have no enormous military capability. I have no cards other than this simultaneous [mutazamin] recognition. What will I do if I offer it in advance? I will be out of all cards and I will sit "naked," as the Palestinian saying goes.

I know that this point is not pivotal in the current Egyptian policy toward the Palestinian problem. This is why I appeal to the Egyptian policy that we search together for positions that bolster our steadfastness. I appeal to the Egyptian diplomacy that we search together for strong arguments with which we can face the present situation.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, you have recently said that there are 2 fronts which the Palestinian action must devote its efforts to penetrate: The U.S. public opinion and the internal Israeli society. What is your visualization of the nature of the effort that must be exerted in these 2 spheres and how far do your hopes go in this regard?

[Answer] I will talk about the Israeli front. But I want to point out first that the Israelis have coined a number of false terms into which I don't like to fall, and neither do I like the Arab intellectuals to fall into. What I mean is this incorrect division into hawks and doves that they speak about there. In truth, I see no big differences between the ruling Likud bloc and the opposition Labor Party vis-a-vis the Palestinian issue.

One strikes you with an iron fist and the other wraps the iron fist in a silken glove. But the iron fist is the same in both cases.

But this specific understanding must not blind us to the developments taking place in the Israeli society from within. This is why we have adopted a resolution in the National Council on the need for dialogue with all the democratic and progressive forces inside and outside the Israeli society. These forces are numerous, beginning with the Peace Now movement, the Sheli group and the Rakah Party and ending with the Israeli and Jewish personalities that have stood against the invasion and the massacres in Lebanon, including Labor Party and Likud alliance personalities and, specifically, the liberals allied with the Herut Party.

In a public speech before the Palestinian masses, I addressed to all these a greeting for the courageous stands they have taken in the face of the invasion and I said that I am prepared to extend my hand to them so that we may formulate together the Palestinian-Israeli coexistence on the basis of a just and comprehensive peace that fulfills the Palestinian people's legitimate rights.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, what are the practical means to achieve this?

[Answer] The means are numerous and they all aim at conducting dialogue with whomever wants to have dialogue with us. There is a dialogue with the Sheli Party, there is a dialogue with the Rakah Party and there are continuing dialogues with the Israeli personalities desiring such dialogue. I personally, and while we were under the blockade and under shelling in Beirut, conducted a dialogue with Uri Avneri and also with Amnon (Kabilock) and Ben Nathan. My brothers conducted numerous similar dialogues. I urge the need to continue this dialogue.

#### Hawks, Doves and Palestinian Issue

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, do you think that the developments occurring in the Israeli society are moving toward stronger conviction regarding the legitimate Palestinian rights? There are those who believe that the Israeli society is more inclined now toward inflexibility and closer to the position of the Hawks.



This depends on the Egyptian position, and I am not exaggerating in this regard.

[Question] How?

[Answer] When every Israeli becomes convinced that the Egyptian-Israeli peace will not be at the expense of the Palestinians.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, this is what Egypt is doing now and this is what is being underlined by the Egyptian statements every day when Egypt declares that it will never affix its signature to any document confiscating the Palestinians' right to determine their future. I believe that the Egyptian-Israeli relations have declined into a difficult position because of the current, and obvious, Egyptian insistence on the Palestinian right.

[Answer] I tell you that every Israeli citizen must feel this deep in his bones so that the Israeli society may confront Begin's policy and may tell him frankly and clearly: You are a danger to the Egyptian-Israeli peace, the peace with the biggest Arab country.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, if you now see in the Israeli society some positive manifestations which were not clear before, do you have an explanation on the reasons for these manifestations?

[Answer] I believe that a part of these positive manifestations is due to the positions of some Israelis who understand the true nature of Judaism as a moral commitment incompatible with any of the actions of the current Israeli policy. There may be another reason, namely that some of the voices of reason that think profoundly there realize that Israel cannot rely in its existence on the element of power alone, which is by nature a changing element. Israel may be able to dominate as it is dominating now for a period of time but power alone cannot solve the Israeli dilemma, especially since most of the elements of Israel's power come from abroad. It is an imported power tied to balances that may change and alter. Why should we go far? What did the United States leave in Saigon before its departure? It left a fearful arsenal of U.S. weapons. But it had abandoned Saigon and Saigon fell.

I may add a third factor, namely this volcano which exploded in Beirut. Look how the position of the Peace Now movement was during the blockade and the war.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, but the Peace Now movement emerged before the invasion and for very different reasons.

[Answer] And how many could the Peace Now movement mobilize before the invasion of Lebanon: 50,000 or 100,000 people? But because of the Beirut volcano, it was able to mobilize 450,000 people. It has also been able to reach the military establishment and to cause a violent tremor inside it.

[Question] So you don't believe that the clear Arab option for just and comprehensive peace has been one of the reasons for the positive manifestations, limited as they may be?

[Answer] The fact is that we are dealing here with a statement [miqwalah] that has done the Arabs an injustice for a long time. The Arabs have always said: We want comprehensive and just peace. Didn't 'Abd al-Nasir's acceptance of the Rogers initiative mean acceptance of peace on the basis of a just and comprehensive solution?

[Question] Maybe we were not credible at the time.

[Answer] Perhaps. And now we are still not credible despite all that we have offered.

Let me tell you frankly: Enough, we are the ones who need to believe now. What should we believe? We should believe ourselves. In the 1973 war, as in the Lebanon war, the Israeli militarism, as well as the Israeli superiority, fell and the myth was destroyed. We may have departed from Lebanon for numerous reasons and, geographically, we may have lost the revolution's most vital, if not sole, position. However, I still believe that the Arab nation has not reached the degree of degradation which the Israelis imagine and on whose basis they act.

[Question] What is the maximum limit you will go to in order for a dialogue to be established between the organization and the U.S. administration?

[Answer] I have conducted more than one dialogue. Once again let me ask: These dialogues that have been going on for 3 months, with whom have they been held? With ghosts?

[Question] Permit me, Abu 'Ammar, to be frank with you. They say that these recent dialogues have come as a result of Arab pressure to get you, and the rest of your men, out of the Beirut blockade safely.

[Question] Were the Israelis able to enter West Beirut when we were inside it? Not at all. They tried to storm the city 17 times and all their endeavors failed. Had they been able to enter West Beirut, they would have massacred me and all my men, as proven by the fact that they massacred our children, women and young men. I believe that Sharon who has massacred children and women would not have spared us. What can I tell you? Should I tell you that I thank God that the Sabra and Shatila tragedy has, despite our victims, shown what they had actually intended for us? I prefer to say that the Sabra and Shatila tragedy has proven the failure of all the guarantees given us that the city, which had been protected by nobody other than our fighters, our blood and our bodies, would be protected.

Since World War II and until the present, no city has faced in war what happened in Beirut. For 88 days, the city was hit from the sea, land and air and with all kinds of weapons, including internationally banned weapons.

Did these people want to get me out alive?

Have you heard of a city being shelled for 17 consecutive hours? This has happened in no war in history other than the Lebanese war. Let us not forget the tank and fleet artillery and the missiles that never stopped. It is laughable that after all this an Israeli military communique is issued to say that their forces advanced 10 meters in the museum area. This is laughable because the length of each of their Merkava tanks, of which they boast, is 13.6 meters. What part of their Merkava tank advanced? The tower!

Let me say that I have never seen the Israelis as weak as they were in the Beirut war.

During the final days of the blockade, Sharon sent me a message offering surrender terms better than those the British offered the Argentine division in the Falkland Islands. Sharon asked me to raise a white flag on the tallest building in West Beirut. You know that we were defending an area not exceeding 9 square kilometers. Had Sharon been able to storm it, he would have actually done so. My reply to Sharon's message was: These guards surrounding me have specific instructions to shoot me if I weaken or if my resolution wavers.

Begin again sent me a U.S. correspondent and told him: Ask 'Arafat why he doesn't surrender so that he and his men may get out alive. He has perhaps forgotten that we are completely surrounding him or he perhaps imagines that he is surrounding me in Tel Aviv!

They were chasing us from building to building with aircraft because Sharon had issued an order to hunt down the Palestinian leadership and 'Arafat by aircraft when they failed to storm the city. Therefore, nobody has the right to claim that he helped us depart in order to save our lives. We departed because we were concerned for the inhabitants of the blockaded city, for the numerous victims, for the unarmed civilians and for the children and women who were being mowed down by the blind and incessant Israeli shelling.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, there may be those who are using the time element to blackmail the Palestinian right and to drag the Arab position toward further concessions. I know that you always say this. However, we really cannot ignore the fact that we do have a problem called time. The Israelis are procrastinating to the maximum in order to build more settlements and to create a new fait accompli that is difficult to change in the West Bank. I believe that Begin wants to waste all of 1983 until the year of U.S. elections comes. The U.S. administration will not then be in a position that enables it to move.

This means, Abu 'Ammar, that we are giving Begin a period of time that may extend to 2 years during which a lot may happen.

I would like to hear your opinion on the problem of time we are facing.



[Answer] I will say to you what Mustafa Kamil said: He who squanders his country's right will forever live with shaken faith and belief. If I fully capitulate to Begin's blackmail at present under the pressure of the element of time, then this means that I will enter the endless labyrinth of concessions.

You know that the Camp David accords emerged in this form on which the Egyptians and the Israelis have disagreed and continue to disagree as a result of the pressure and urgency exerted by the element of time because Carter wanted to complete the agreement before the U.S. elections.

I am aware of the extent of the hard suffering under which the Palestinian people in the Bank and Gaza live because of the demon of settlement that has spread there and devoted most of the fertile lands. But I also know that the Israelis are never satisfied and that they want to create a new fait accompli that will further complicate the situation. But what is the solution? The solution is in Egypt's hands.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, why Egypt alone? Why don't you talk of an absent Arab role? Why do you insist only on the Egyptian position?

[Answer] The solution lies in a common Egyptian-Arab-Palestinian position and in our sitting together to consult, to adopt a position on the settlement issue and on the issue of creating a new fait accompli in the Bank and Jerusalem. I am prepared to participate in such a meeting and to bring it to a successful conclusion. Israel does not have as free a hand as some imagine. We as Egyptians, Palestinians and Arabs can stop this settlement demon.

#### Abu 'Ammar's Visit and Its Joint Calculations

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, let me turn now to your expected visit to Egypt. I know Egypt's viewpoint on this issue. The question of the visit is left up completely to you, to your calculations, to the conditions you are experiencing within the Palestinian movement and to the Arab factors engulfing you and, perhaps, influencing your position. But Egypt is prepared to receive you at any time you wish.

[Answer] No, the issue is not an issue of my independent calculations. It is an issue of our joint calculations. My relations with Egypt are stronger than just an invitation card, God be praised.

To me, Egypt is my big love. It is the affection and the warmth. I am confident that Egypt will never abandon the Palestinian cause. When I ask Egypt to embrace my cause today, I am asking this of the eldest brother.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, I have heard that you have asked Egypt to do a number of things in advance to cover the visit, such as, for example, making it easier for some Palestinians whose families are still in Egypt to enter the country and to accept a number of fighters within the old 'Ayn Jalut format as part of the Egyptian army. But don't you think that such actions are within the sphere of prior conditions? Don't you think

that Egypt has expressed reservations on accepting the Beirut fighters so as not to contribute to their dispersal?

[Answer] God forbid that I set conditions for my visit. The issue of the Palestinian citizens living in Egypt is the responsibility of the Egyptian president and I have nothing to do with it. There should be no connection between the visit and any raised problems. The visit must be devoted to one objective: Discuss the future.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, haven't you asked for opening a PLO office in al-'Arish? What is the significance of this and why al-'Arish in particular? Is it to give the Israelis a justification? What good will an office in al-'Arish do you?

[Answer] I have not asked for opening an office in al-'Arish specifically. We had 5 offices in Egypt, including one in al-'Arish. President al-Sadat is the one who declared that he was ready to accept the organization's presence in al-'Arish. He said this in Begin's presence during their visit to the city. Al-Sadat said precisely: Let the Palestinians come here and we are ready to receive them in al-'Arish.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, al-Sadat called for your presence in al-'Arish in case you agreed to declare a provisional government and were prepared to negotiate with the Israelis on the basis of mutual recognition. I believe that he suggested al-'Arish as a negotiation site and as a place for the provisional Palestinian government.

[Answer] I am telling you I could have no prior conditions insofar as Egypt and its new position are concerned. The question of the problems raised at present is left completely up to the Egyptian leadership. All I ask is that Egypt embrace the cause, that we consult fully on the future and that we participate with each other in developing a united Egyptian-Arab position that stands firmer insofar as the Palestinian rights are concerned.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, a few hours ago you received an official Lebanese delegation. I believe the consultations between you revolved around the issue of withdrawal from Lebanon. What do you expect for Lebanon in the wake of the departure of the Palestinians and what will be the fate of 9,000 Palestinian fighters currently present in al-Biqa' and North Lebanon? Where, Abu 'Ammar, will the new Palestinian departure be going to?

[Answer] First, let it be known that I did not leave Beirut because a military force coerced me to depart. I departed for the sake of Beirut's children and Beirut's women. I remember that when West Beirut's inferno intensified, I gathered the Islamic and national Lebanese leaderships and told them verbatim: My departure from Beirut is in your hands. If you believe that the time has come for my departure from Beirut, I will do so tomorrow. This was one month after the battles had started.

I recall that on that day one of them said to me: Abu 'Ammar, if you expect help in a week or two or even a month, then we are prepared to stand fast. But if you expect nothing, then perhaps it will be wise to spare this flowing blood.

I told them on that day: When Yusuf al-'Azmah proceeded to fight the French in Maysalun, at the outskirts of Damascus, he knew that the forces were unequal but he proceeded to fight so that the invaders may know that homelands are not captured without price and that there are those who are prepared to be martyred for the homeland.

What is happening in Lebanon at present is terrifying. Here is the civil war going on without our presence, with the Israelis stirring its fire. The Marunites kill the Druze under the protection of Israeli tanks, the Marunites are divided among themselves, the Shi'ites are against the other sects and everybody is fighting everybody because Israel wants this.

I told some Phalangists while I was under blockade in Beirut that he who invites the wolf to the grapevine must pay the price. I hold [ex-President] Sarkis totally responsible because he gave the Israeli invasion its legitimacy. Bashir al-Jumayyil then came to conclude the deal. Where is Sarkis and where is Bashir al-Jumayyil? They killed him after the deal. I have told them [Lebanese] repeatedly one should not rouse an enemy against his brother even if the brother has gone too far in his error.

#### Resistance's Final Withdrawal From Lebanon

I don't believe the Israelis will depart from South Lebanon. The Lebanese delegation told me yesterday that Amin al-Jumayyil has this feeling and that he told them precisely that they [Israelis] have begun to steal the Litani River water and that he who steals the water will not leave the river.

Do you know that in the first phase of negotiations with Philip Habib, I got a better agreement than the agreement they are currently negotiating for. But Sarkis rejected that agreement under which all the parties involved had agreed to our withdrawal from Beirut in return for a simultaneous Israeli withdrawal to a distance of 8 miles from the Lebanese capital as a first step. But Sarkis refused and told us during a joint Lebanese-Palestinian meeting that he had full guarantees for the withdrawal of the Israelis from all of Lebanon and that he could not guarantee the Palestinians' departure from West Beirut if Israel withdrew from the 8-mile distance. Where is Sarkis now? He is lost in Paris, like a tourist.

I told them that the agreement offered us consisted of 2 phases: A first phase during which we retreat to the refugee camps and surrender our heavy weapons to the Lebanese army and a second phase calling for our departure after the Israelis withdraw for a distance of 8 miles south of the capital. I told them: Take advantage of my position. It is a winning card in your hands that strengthens your negotiating position. Make use of my departure from Lebanon. But they acted like al-'Alaqimah. They behaved like 'Abdallah al-'Alqami who let the Tatars into Baghdad.

Despite this, I told the Lebanese delegation a few hours before this interview that the Palestinian armed presence in al-Biqa' and North Lebanon, as in Beirut, is up to its allies and to all the Lebanese--people, government and president--who have endured everything with us to end the Israeli occupation.

[Question] How many fighters do you have now in al-Biqa' and the north and where will their next winter be?

[Answer] 9,000 fighters. God's earth is vast.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, have you gotten from the Lebanese delegation adequate guarantees to protect the 400,000 Palestinians who now live in the refugee camps in Lebanon?

[Answer] I discussed this with President Amin al-Jumayyil when we met in Rabat. I have also discussed it with the Lebanese delegation today. However, in the wake of the Sabra and Shatila massacre, I don't put much faith in these guarantees.

It is fully my right to demand an Arab force or a U.N. force to protect these camps because the refugee camps are under the supervision of the United Nations. Let all know that our present silence is not cut of weakness and that our arms can reach those who have inflicted misery on our people and who want to make them suffer still more. We are still capable but we do not want to deviate because we do not want the conflict to again turn into a Lebanese-Palestinian conflict. The conflict is now an Arab-Israeli conflict and I will never turn it into a Palestinian-Lebanese conflict or an inter-Arab conflict, despite the tragic conditions under which our citizens are living in the refugee camps.

I appeal to the honorable Lebanese and to the Arab nation to intervene so that we may not lose our patience. I appeal to all of them to put an end to the acts of arrest, torture, plundering and looting, to the denial of the right to work, to the actual expulsion of workers and to all forms of maltreatment to which the Palestinians in Lebanon are currently subjected. Only yesterday, the Italian force of the multi-national forces discovered at the last moment that the Phalangists had mined all 4 floors of a Palestinian children, as if they are not satisfied with Sabra and Shatila.

[Question] How can one contribute to dispelling the feelings of deep hatred generated between the Phalanges and the Palestinians in Lebanon, considering that the situation is due to mutual mistakes?

[Answer] The mutual mistakes, and even our mistakes, are not the secret. The reason is that Israel has constantly raised some Phalangist cadres on hating whatever is Arab. You have reported in AL-MUSAWWAR that Israel has spent \$1.2 billions on some Phalangist groups. When we said this, nobody believed us.

Let me ask you: Where we present in al-Shuf mountains? We have never had any presence of any sort in the Druze mountain and yet the Phalanges are now massacring the Druze under the protection of the Israeli tanks.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, has the Lebanese delegation acquainted you with the new U.S. proposals for withdrawal of the foreign forces from Lebanon?

[Answer] The Lebanese delegation has informed me that the Israelis refuse to withdraw from Lebanon unless all the other forces withdraw. I informed them of our position which I have spelled out to you.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, what is the truth of the Syrian position?

[Answer] I don't know and I don't want to talk of the Syrian position.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, you have met with King Husayn twice since your departure from Lebanon. Can I say that together, you two have surpassed all the bitter experiences of the past?

[Answer] This is what has happened in my discussions with King Husayn. I have told him that I have turned over the page of September 1970, have you? He said yes. Proceeding from this starting point, our discussions began.

[Question] Where have the discussions ended? What have you agreed on, what continues to be a subject of negotiation and what have you disagreed on?

[Answer] We have agreed on a Palestinian-Jordanian willingness to set up a confederacy that links the Palestinians and the Jordanians.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, what do you mean by a confederacy?

[Answer] A special and distinguished relationship binding two states that have a single presidency.

[Question] A special and distinguished relationship binding two states that have a single president?

[Answer] A single presidency, not a single president.

[Question] What is the nature of the confederal establishments binding the two states?

[Answer] We have agreed to form a Palestinian-Jordanian committee and this committee is now studying all the types of confederacy existing in the world to reach agreement on the nature of the joint establishments that can be confederal establishments and on the independent establishments of each state.

[Question] Could the two of you have imposed on your own and in advance a confederal formula on the Palestinians and the Jordanians?

[Answer] King Husayn has insisted on a popular referendum before approving this formula. I, on my part, have made a commitment to submit the matter to the Palestinian National Council prior to the popular referendum.

[Question] Will the confederal relationship be on the Palestinian National Council's agenda when it meets in Algiers before the middle of next February?



[Question] Will the Palestinian state be necessarily established prior to the establishment of the confederal relationship or will the confederal relationship come first and the Palestinian state follow?

[Answer] We can find a solution even for this point if the common goodwill is present.

[Question] I understand from this that it is not essential that the state be set up before establishment of the confederal relationship?

[Answer] I am saying that these are questions of detail for which we can find a solution satisfactory to all if there is goodwill. Constitutionally a confederal union must be established between 2 independent states. However, we can find the solution to any problem of the sort.

#### I Did Not Give Husayn Authorization in His Trip to Washington

[Question] What kind of authorization did you give King Husayn prior to his visit to Washington for his latest exploratory discussions with Reagan?

[Answer] The fact of the matter is that King Husayn asked me for no authorization that I may give him one.

[Question] Then you are prepared to take part in the peace negotiations with a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation?

[Answer] Yes, if it is a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation in the sense that there is a Palestinian delegation and a Jordanian delegation which join each other and go together for the negotiations. The PLO must name the members of the Palestinian delegation. Without this, I cannot agree.

[Question] When Fahd al-Qawasimah and Muhammad Milhem, two of the West Bank mayors, went to meet U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, did they carry with them a clear statement from the organization leadership?

[Answer] I saw them before they went and met with them in Riyadh after their return. They were more optimistic than they should have been and I didn't share their optimism.

[Question] You have criticized 3 points in Reagan's initiative which have also been the subject of the Egyptian side's criticism, namely: The initiative's omission of the Palestinians' right to self-determination, its overlooking the Palestinians' right to set up a state and its failure to include the organization as a party in the negotiations.

Does this mean that you approve all the other elements of the initiative?

[Answer] We must first find out the Arabs' position vis-a-vis Reagan's initiative and Reagan's position vis-a-vis the Fez resolutions. This is something to which the answer will be given by the seven-member committee which is scheduled to meet shortly now that it has completed its scheduled visits.

[Question] By the way, did Andropov ask the seven-member committee delegation doubtfully: Do you, as Arabs, really want to implement the Fez resolutions, including the creation of the Palestinian state?

[Answer] Yes, he did actually ask the delegation this question.

[Question] Let us return to our subject. Do you find it possible to reconcile the positive elements of the Reagan initiative with the positive elements of the Fez resolutions? Can Europe perform this role and can the Europeans give you anything more than sympathy?

[Answer] We must first urge the Europeans to support the Fez resolutions. I can tell you that Europe can give us more than sympathy because Europe's influence on U.S. public opinion cannot be disregarded. Some European countries have an influence which cannot be overlooked on the U.S. decision-making process, even though I now find that the European role is moving closer to the U.S. role and not the opposite. But Europe must understand that European stability is dependent on the Middle East's stability. We live on the southern edge of this lake, called the Mediterranean Sea, and they live on its northern edge. European security is fully tied to the Middle East's security.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar, permit me to be frank with you. There are those who say the problem is not 'Arafat because 'Arafat is a moderate and realistic man. The problem lies in 'Arafat's colleagues and in some Palestinian organizations dominated by a spirit of radicalism. Permit me to ask you: What are the limits of the democratic game within the PLO when some small organizations can swerve from the Palestinian consensus to intensify the unrest on the Palestinian arena? I am referring here specifically to some statements issued before the latest Central Council meeting in Damascus.

[Answer] I know that some Europeans reiterate that the problem is not with 'Arafat but with some of his colleagues. I would like to ask here: Why do these people want to deny us a kind of a democratic formula on the Palestinian action arena which actually consists of numerous political parties that also happen to carry arms. We have been able to establish the democratic formula amidst a jungle of rifles.

I can assure you that there is presently a strong commitment on the part of the 3 major parties within the organization, namely Fatah, the Popular [Front] and the Democratic [Front]. We entrenched this commitment at a conference held recently in Aden through full agreement on the importance of the independence of the Palestinian decision and its freedom from the interference of some Arab regimes that are trying to bury the independence of the Palestinian decision.

As for those who have deviated from the Palestinian consensus by issuing these statements, I will bring them to account at the Palestinian National Council when it meets in Algiers next February. I will ask the Palestinian people's parliament to bring them to account because though it is permitted to criticize, it is not permitted that loyalty be owed to a party other than the Palestinian revolution.

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CSO: 4404/175

SURVIVORS DESCRIBE SABRA, SHATILA MASSACRE

Beirut SHU'UN FILASTINIYAH in Arabic Nos 132-133, November-December 1982  
pp 41-58

[Article by Team of Researchers: "Testimony of Massacre Survivors"]

[Text] The witnesses' real names are not revealed here for their safety. Initials have been used instead, even for people willing to disclose their names. The same has been applied to names mentioned within the context of the testimony whenever the name identifies the individual concerned.

In a few cases, even the initials are omitted and only the individual's [first] name is mentioned. In a few cases, the witnesses refused to even disclose their names to the researchers.

The testimony was made in the vernacular and was then edited into standard Arabic without any alternation in the meaning of words. Whenever it was impossible to find a substitute for the vernacular, the original word has been retained.

The dates repeated in the testimony are those of the days during which the massacre took place, namely: Thursday, 16 September 1982; Friday, 17 September 1982 and Saturday, 18 September 1982.

(S.S.), an 18-year old Palestinian woman living in Sabra Camp: On Thursday, I went out to bring a girlfriend of mine. It was 2100. On the way, I saw massacred people. I got scared, returned and told my father. I suggested to him that we go and move the wounded to the hospital. My father objected, saying: "They may have been spies. Don't go out."

We remained awake until 2400. Our neighbor came and spent the night with us. My father slept in the living room. We watched television and got dressed. My sister got the identity cards and some money ready.



On Friday morning, my brother climbed to the roof with our neighbor--our house consists of 2 floors. Moments later, armed men came and knocked on our neighbor's door but found nobody. They then knocked on our door. My father talked to them from the living room window and told them to "come and have coffee." He thought they were Jews. We didn't know they were Phalangists.

One of the armed men answered: "You are still here, you brother of a dog?" They took us out of the house. Two of my younger brothers remained in the bathroom. They were scared and didn't come out. I, my father, my sister and 4 of my brothers came out. They then ordered us to enter the house again and lined us up against the wall and proceeded to spray us with bullets. Four of my brothers were killed. The brains of 2 of them were "spilled out." My sister was hit by a bullet in the shoulder and my father was wounded in the back and the chest. I was wounded in the head, back and shoulder. I kept on screaming from the pain until a woman neighbor of ours brought the Lebanese army on Saturday. The army took us to the Red Cross center and I was then transferred to the American University Hospital. I stayed there for 4 days and was then released.

The armed men I saw were wearing light-colored military uniforms bearing the insignia of the Lebanese Forces. Their accent was Lebanese, particularly Beirut accent.

(M.W.), a 53-year old Palestinian grocer from Shatila Camp: On Thursday, I was in the shelter. I had closed the shop at noon and went to sleep in the shelter. At 1700, I came out of the shelter which was full of people. I came and hid behind my shop. The shooting started. I came out of my hiding and saw the Phalangists 5 meters away from me, advancing, shooting and screaming: "Come out, you." At the beginning, we thought that they were Israelis because the Phalangist radio had announced that the Israeli army had entered the camps. But the result was that the Phalangists were the ones who entered. When I saw them, I told my friend: "These are Phalangists, run away." I entered the shop to take my clothes and flee but found them stationed in a corner. They did not see me. I heard one of them calling his colleague: "Come here, Tony." I became 100 percent certain that they were Phalangists. I closed the shop quietly and remained inside 3 days and 3 nights, watching them through a keyhole in the door. There were 5 of them to the left and 5 to the right. Their names were: al-Hajj Niqula, al-Hajj Tuma, Butrus, Tanyus, Jiryis, Ilyas and Michel. Their accent was similar to that of the eastern areas, i.e., al-Ashrafiyah. They killed whomever they encountered on their way. It made no difference to them whether their victims were 4-month olds or 90-year olds. It so happened that an old man and his wife passed by them and one of them said: "Let them go because they are old." After the old couple had walked by them, another armed man said: "Kill them." A Lebanese youth then came by and said: "The boss (the officer in charge of the armed men) has permitted me to pass because I am Lebanese." One of the armed men answered: "Lebanese, but Muslim" and killed him. I stayed in this position from Thursday till Saturday when I saw people passing in groups. I came out of the shop and walked with them. One of the armed men saw me and said: "You were hiding." I said yes. He told me: "Walk with the people." They

were selecting people one by one and taking them away in Landrovers. As for us, they took us to the Israelis at the Kuwaiti Embassy. The Israeli forces began to interrogate us, asking us who knew fighters and who didn't. The uniforms of the armed men were bearing the words "the Lebanese Forces" and they had 3 cars: A Mercedes, a Peugeot and a military Landrover.

(A.K.), a 72-year old Palestinian who lives in Shatila Camp: On Thursday, when we learned that the Israelis had entered West Beirut, we formed a 6-member delegation to go to the Israeli troops and tell them that we were unarmed and that the fighters had left the camps. Shells were pouring down on the camp from all sides.

We climbed into a car and raised a white banner and the Lebanese flag. Upon arriving at Gaza Hospital, we split into 2 groups: Four persons took a certain path and I and another man took a narrow alley. The main road separated us and we couldn't catch up with the other group because of the heavy shelling and firing. They went alone and left us. We were saddened by their action and decided to return to the camp.

On our way back, we saw a woman beating her head and saying: "They have massacred us. They have killed all the young men."

I left the camp and went to Gaza Hospital and slept there with the crowds that had already deserted the 2 camps. On Saturday, I tried to enter the camp but could not because of sniper fire. On Sunday, I returned and managed to enter the camp. While walking, I saw hundreds of corpses dumped on the road. I also saw the head of a woman severed from her body, with her hair soaked in blood. I also saw the debris of demolished houses, with corpses showing under them.

Moments later, I saw the French ambassador with an interpreter and a group of men surrounding him. I approached him and said: "We thank France for the efforts it is exerting for the sake of the Palestinians." He answered: "This is our duty and it is very little of what should be done."

The ambassador was deeply touched and when he reached the hole which later turned into a mass grave and saw the bodies piling up, he, along with his aides, started to cry like a child.

I returned and asked about the 4 men who had gone to negotiate with the Israelis and learned that they had found the corpses of 3 of them and that the fourth was missing, with nothing known about him so far.

(N.Sh.), a 9-year old Palestinian child who sells kerosene at Sabra Camp: I was at my grandmother's house in Shatila Camp but I got on my bicycle and went to my father. He told me: "Go back to your grandmother before the shelling and the shooting starts because you will then ask to go back." I refused. We had no knowledge of the slaughtering and the massacres. This was on Thursday morning. I then told my father that I would return to my grandmother. While I was preparing to go, a shell fell nearby and my father said: "Come,

let us go down to the shelter." A man then came to the shelter and told us that Sa'd Haddad was massacring people in the camps and that Israel was closing in. My father didn't believe the reports. Some people then started saying that 'Akka Hospital had surrendered and people started going to the hospital. My mother told my father that she wanted to go to the hospital, adding: "If you don't want to go, stay here." We went to 'Akka Hospital. Our neighbor refused to go with us. After we had left, he came out of his house and they killed him. When we reached 'Akka Hospital we were told: "We cannot keep you here. It is possible they will come to inspect the hospital." We slept there and on the following morning, Friday morning, we left 'Akka. My father returned home and found 2 people dressed in civilian clothes trying to break down the door of one of the houses. My father asked them what they wanted and they told him that it was their house. My father answered that he knows the house owner and so the 2 men fled. He went and reported them to the armed men and they told him: "Fear nothing. We are brothers and kinsmen. We are the army." They were wearing uniforms similar to those of the army, speaking with a Lebanese accent, and had the words "the Free Lebanon Army" written on their backs. We returned to the house but did not find the civilians. Instead, we found a dead man near the house. We entered the shelter we had been using and found all the inhabitants of al-Hursh (gypsies) dead. I found a number of kerosene vendors I had known before dead, including al-Sayyid and Jamal who had been killed with axes. I also saw 6 victims in their shrouds who had been tied by chains and slaughtered like sheep. When we were in al-Hursh, they [armed men] told a woman: If you don't eat excrement, we will kill your children. The woman ate the excrement before our eyes. They would tell people: "You, get out of the house" and then would proceed to say "O Imam 'Ali" or "O God" and spray their bullets. We could hear voices and every time a voice was heard, they would spray more bullets and the voice would disappear. We fled to al-Sabil and then to Burj al-Barajinah and returned only a week ago.

('A. KH.), the 36-year old executive manager of Gaza Hospital: At the end of the war and with the cease-fire, normal workhours were resumed at Gaza Hospital.

After the assassination of Bashir al-Humayyil, we heard of the Israelis' entry into West Beirut and their reaching al-Fakihani area. Atop the hospital, we heard some say that the Israelis came to protect people from the Phalanges.

On Thursday morning, the association's chairwoman came from al-Hamra' to visit the hospital and then went on to visit 'Akka Hospital.

The Israelis were present near 'Akka as of Thursday morning.

Thursday afternoon, the intense shooting started. Shells were falling from every direction. People got scared and large numbers of them came to Gaza Hospital (we estimated their number at 1,500 refugees comprised of children, women and old men). The hospital lobbies and halls got filled and the wounded, most of them victims of snipers, began to arrive at the hospital. Hours later, other groups arrived and told us that armed men were entering homes and shooting their inhabitants indiscriminately. I asked about their

accent and they said: It is the Ba'labakk accent. I told the foreign doctors that armed groups had entered the camps to spread terror in the hearts of the citizens or to loot. This is what we thought. We didn't think that massacres would be committed. We tried to go to the Israelis stationed near 'Akka [Hospital] but were told that the road was not safe. We contacted a French mission and asked it to contact 'Akka Hospital and the Israelis. The mission replied that it could not because it had many bodies that had to be buried and wounded that had to be treated. We stayed awake throughout the night of Thursday.

On Friday morning, we tried through Ziyad Ma'ruf, the official in charge of the ambulance and emergency service who was martyred later, to contact 'Akka or to get Red Cross protection but were informed that 'Akka Hospital was in danger. I left Gaza Hospital and went to al-Maqasid Hospital where its director advised me to contact ex-Prime Minister Sa'ib Salam and the Red Cross.

I contacted Mr (Kong) at the Red Cross and asked him to contact the Israeli army. A Red Cross crew left for 'Akka but could not reach the hospital because of the sniping and shelling.

I returned to Gaza and was told that brother Ziyad Ma'ruf and 2 other persons accompanying him were martyred in a Red Cross--not Red Crescent--car. The car was a gift from the French mission.

At 1400, a Norwegian nurse arrived from 'Akka and told us that armed men belonging to the Phalanges were killing the patients and arresting the civilians, even the doctors.

I met with the hospital's Arab crew and told them that they must disperse because we had received serious information. I then met with the foreign medical crew, which came from the World Churches Council, and put them in the picture. They refused to leave the hospital and said that they were responsible for their presence in the hospital and shouldered the responsibility of the wounded. We then asked the civilians to leave the hospital out of fear for their life after having learned of the 'Akka massacre.

We contacted the Red Cross and notified it that our situation was not normal. I also met with the Lebanese cadre and acquainted them with everything. They expressed their readiness to stay and shoulder the responsibility. They also advised me to leave the hospital for fear of my life. At 1800 on Friday, the Red Cross arrived and we were able to evacuate 7 children from the intensive-care room. I left the hospital at exactly 1800.

(J.M.), a 27-year old Lebanese housewife: On Friday, 2 young men fleeing Shatila came and told us that the Phalanges were massacring people in Shatila. We received this news at 2100 on Friday night. We started to awaken the neighbors and tell them the news. Some of them believed us and some didn't. Others fled. We stayed awake throughout the night and began to hear the rumbling of tanks. We knew that the Israeli forces were advancing.



At 0500 on Saturday, people awakened and began to say: "These are rumors. They want to loot the homes." Then there was sniper fire at the entrance of the alley. This sniper fire stopped at 0530. We ran to the entrance of the alley to see what was happening and saw armed people wearing steel helmets. People carried white flags and went to them. I went with the rest. When we reached them, we realized from their accent that they were Lebanese. They prevented us from returning to our homes and proceeded to gather the remaining people. There were nearly 10 soldiers and they were communicating by radio and others would arrive. There were Israelis with them. I recognized them from their speech which had a strong accent. I asked one of them to permit me to return to my house to see my children whom I had left sleeping there. He said to me: "We will send 2 [soldiers] with you." Two of them did actually accompany me to the house. On the way, I saw a number of soldiers taking away from our alley nearly 10 youths who were walking with their hands above their heads. I said to the 2 soldiers accompanying me to my house: "Isn't it a pity to do this to them. Believe me I know all of them and they are all innocent." One of the two soldiers addressed his comrade, saying: "You, didn't I tell you not to do this to people?" I felt reassured and told myself that they wouldn't harm the youths. We reached the house and I couldn't find my children or my mother. I didn't know at the time that my mother had taken them and fled with them. One of the 2 soldiers said to me: "They could be in Shatila with the other people." I took milk bags and my identity from the house and returned. On the way back, one of them tried to rape me. He put his weapon on the ground and approached me, trying to get hold of me. I screamed in his face: "I am one of you. I am from your flesh and blood. I am a Christian from al-Ashrafiyah." He then left me alone and the other armed man said to him: "Leave her alone, don't harm her." I returned to Shatila and found other armed men. They were all "Matawilah" (Shi'ites), with names such as Mahmud, Akram and Fadi. They took the milk bags from me inspected them with their feet. The identity card appeared among the clothes. One of them took it and read it and then said to me: "Is your name...?" I said yes. He told me: "This identity card is forged." I swore to him that it was real and so he turned me over to another man and told him: "Take this, Akram. The identity card is forged." Akram asked me: "Where are you from?" I said: "From al-Ashrafiyah." He asked me: "What keeps you here, you must be married to a Palestinian?" I said: "My husband has been a Palestinian since 1948." He asked: "Where is your husband?" I answered: "He is in Kuwait." He said to me: "There is no longer any need for Palestinians here" and added "go home before somebody else interrogates you." I said to him: "My brother and my brother-in-law are prisoners here." Then I called my brother and my brother-in-law and he examined their identity cards and told them: "Go with the people because we will not harm the Lebanese." I then started looking for the youths they had driven away with their hands above their heads but could not find them. I later learned that they had taken them away by "jeep." One of the armed men asked me: Where is Sabra and where is al-Fakihani? He told me that they had come by way of the airport. They then brought jeeps and started taking the young men away. There was a person in Sabra called "Abu 'A." who informed on the young men and the armed elements then took them away in Landrovers. Before taking the youths away by Landrover, they would throw them on the floor and beat them with their feet and rifles. Landrovers belonging to the MP's then arrived after having taken a number of

men and thrown them from atop a high hill. When we reached the Kuwaiti Embassy, they told us: The women and children go home. I returned and fled to Ra's al-Nab'. Their accent was Lebanese and they were comprised of the Lebanese Forces and the Free Lebanon Army.

(H.Z.), a 71-year old Palestinian who works as a laborer with the UNRWA and lives in Sabra Camp: At 0600 on Friday, I left my home in Burj al-Barajinah to go to Shatila Camp because that day was the day of distributing provisions to the Palestinian refugees and I was working in Shatila on that day. When I arrived at the outer part of the camp at 0700, I saw a youth running and asked him: "Is anything the matter?" He answered: Go back quickly. There is an armed group that is killing the men, women and children in the camp." Upon hearing this, I turned around quickly but heard a voice behind me saying: "Come back here, you brother of a..." I was riding my donkey and so I turned it around and went back. When I reached the man, he told me to dismount and I did. He told me to throw down the headcover I was wearing. After doing so, the man started trampling it and swearing at me. He then asked me: "How would you like your end to be, shot to death or slaughtered with a knife?" I said: "As you wish." He pulled out a knife and stabbed me. He left me on the ground and walked away. But I survived and shortly afterwards began to crawl until I reached nearly the end of the street. There, I could crawl no more because I was exhausted and had bled profusely. A young man was passing by and saw me. He tried to help me but was afraid. So he carried me and threw me in the street close to Sabri Hamadah's palace. There, a car with 2 young soldiers was passing by. They stopped the car and took me to Hotel (Dieux) Hospital where I was given good care. Afterwards, I sent a message to my family to tell them where I was. They came and transferred me to Gaza Hospital. The armed group was wearing military uniforms and wearing chains with crosses around the neck. The group's accent was Lebanese.

(Umm Muhammad. S.), a 40-year old housewife who lives in Shatila Camp: At 0530 on Friday, we were all asleep in the house when we were suddenly surprised by an armed group entering the house and ordering us to evacuate it without making any move or of thinking to flee. We did. But my 2 children (S and H) were able to flee and hide in the bathroom. When we came out of the house, one of the armed men asked us: "Where are you from." My husband said: "We are not going to lie to you. We are Palestinians." The armed man then asked him: "What is your work?" My husband said: "I work in a civilian agency." The armed men then asked us to raise our hands above our heads and to line up next to the wall and the other armed men started shooting. I and my 2 daughters were the only ones to survive. One of my daughters, (S), has been paralyzed. My husband and my other 4 sons (B., F., Sh., and D.) were killed. When I fled, I could not help my daughter. So I left her bleeding and then others came and helped her.

After fleeing, I told people of what had happened to us. Some of them believed me and others didn't. This is all that happened with me. As for the uniform the armed men were wearing, it was dark beige, with the Lebanese cedar insignia on their shoulders and with the words MP. Their accent was Lebanese. However, there was a Jew with them. I was able to recognize him because he didn't look like any of the others, was round-faced, bearded and tall and spoke Arabic in an incomprehensible way.

('A.M.), a 50-year old Egyptian woman who works as a cleaning woman at 'Akka Hospital: I am a worker at 'Akka Hospital. On Thursday, I came out to dump the garbage and saw a group of armed men, some of them wearing military uniforms and others wearing beige shorts and red sweaters, with berets on their heads.

They entered the hospital and, accidentally, found me in front of them. They started to shoot and I was the first to be hit. I fell on the garbage heap piled up in front of the door as soon as I was hit. As for the armed men, they attacked the people inside the hospital and started killing them. It was a massacre. I remained prostrate without moving a muscle for fear that they may see me. But unfortunately, one of them came back and prodded me with his weapon to make sure that I was dead. But I remained motionless. He left me and went away. I then fainted and I have no idea how I was brought here.

On Saturday, people were running around and screaming at the top of their voices: "Run away. Sa'd Haddad has come to the hospital." At that moment, I left the hospital and went down to the main street and saw an International Red Cross vehicle right in front of me. I got in the car with them and they took me to Trad Hospital and from there to al-Lahut [Divinity] Hospital and then to Gaza Hospital. Here I am being treated until now.

As for their speech, their accent was Lebanese.

An 18-year old Palestinian who works as autobody repairman and lives in Sabra Camp: At 1845 on Thursday, I was near Gaza Hospital with a friend of mine when I heard a youth say that Sa'd Haddad's men had entered Shatila area and were committing criminal acts of slaughter, sniping and others against the inhabitants. I informed my friends who got their weapons and we all rushed to the area. We hid next to al-Dukhi shop where we saw 4 tall armed men wearing military uniforms bearing the words the "Free Lebanon Army." We approached them when they called us but as soon as we came close to them, one of them started shooting. We began to run, with the bullets pouring around us like rain. We didn't know how we got there but we did manage to get to Gaza Hospital and stayed there. Shortly afterwards, people came to hide in Gaza Hospital and then started fleeing to Hamad Street. We remained at Gaza Hospital awaiting the arrival of any alien armed man to clash with him. But one of the area's elderly men came and asked us to leave the area for the sake of its inhabitants' safety. Suddenly, a young woman wounded in the arm came shouting: "The Phalangists have killed my mother and all my brothers and let me get away with a wound so that I may tell what happened." At that, people began to flee and we stayed until Saturday to see what would happen.

On Saturday, the armed men arrived at Gaza Hospital in large numbers. So we couldn't fight them. We fled by way of the backside of the hospital to al-Da'uq area and the armed men started to chase us, ordering us to return. But we didn't heed them. Their accent was pure Lebanese.

Upon managing to flee, I went and handed over my weapon to the Arab Lebanon Army. From there I proceeded to al-Musaytibah area where I stayed for nearly



2 weeks. I returned to the [Gaza Hospital] area after the Lebanese Army had entered it.

(M.J.), a 50-year old Lebanese woman who lives in Shatila Camp: At 1800 on Thursday, we heard the sounds of shells falling nearby so we fled to the shelter close to us. While in the shelter, a group of armed men wearing commando uniforms came and told us to come out of the shelter. We did and they started separating the men from the women. Then they took us (the women) to the Kuwaiti Embassy. There, they put us on a big truck and took us to al-Shuwayfat crossroad. They kept the men next to the shelter. When we arrived in al-Shuwayfat, we saw a lighted residence but they turned out the lights. There was a main army command there. They started vilifying us but the truck driver told them: "For shame, these are women, don't insult them." One of the armed men answered him: "Okay, but if they were men we would know how to deal with them." After the conversation with the driver, the armed man turned to us and asked: "Who of you knows where al-Awza'i Square is?" One of us told him that she knew. When we got to al-Awza'i, they asked us to stand next to a wall and we feared that they were going to kill us. They then took 4 Palestinian women and started beating them in front of us. As for the rest, they brought us food and blankets. There was among us a woman (A.B.) from a Lebanese village who was married to a non-Lebanese. She recognized one of the armed elements, called (...) from (...) area, and asked him to return the men to us. He told her: "Don't be afraid. They will be returned to you soon." We spent the night there and returned on Friday. We saw them near the gas station at the crossroad of the main road to Shatila Camp. They asked us: "Where were you?" We told them that we were with the army which had brought us back there. We returned to our homes. On the way, we saw the dead on the ground. So we fled and took refuge with the Lebanese army at the Henry Shihab barracks. There, we started to hear shelling anew. A Lebanese army soldier then told us: "Run away. The Phalangists and Israel will now come and take you." We fled to al-Awza'i crossroad where we rented a cab and fled to Sidon. A few days later, I returned to my home and learned that my sister and my son-in-law had been killed.

They wore uniforms exactly the same as those of the army. I couldn't tell with whom they [armed men] were affiliated because I cannot read or write. But their accent was the southern Lebanese accent.

(M.A.), an 18-year old Lebanese housewife: I was at the camp from Wednesday to Saturday. On Friday, my neighbor (A.B.) came and told us: "Run away. A massacre is going on in the camp." My sister had seen armed men passing in front of our house. Meanwhile, we heard one of them calling on all the residents to come out and gather. My mother-in-law fled but I stayed with my sister-in-law without any men. My mother-in-law, named (B.H.) and 50 years old, did not return and we later found her dead. (A.B.) said to me: "Hide and lock all the doors. They have gathered all the young men outside the camp and all the women in front of the gas station and they are vilifying them." Around 2200, we began to hear footsteps under the window and the sounds of young men who seemed to be arguing while readying their weapons and firing. We then heard footsteps on the roof but remained silent. The roof has an internal stairway but the armed men did not see it. This situation continued

until the morning when we opened the door and saw a child walking in front of the house and he said: "You are still in the house? The dead are behind your house." I went to inquire and saw the dead filling the street. I heard some people speak of wounded who needed help and they asked me to help move them. A wounded man with a pale face put his hand on my shoulder and we moved him to a nearby place. I could no longer control myself and almost fainted. I asked the wounded man: How did they hit you. But he didn't answer. I left and went to look for my family but felt a woman pulling me backward and telling me: "Flee, they may return." I left the woman and returned home. They then started calling us to gather outside the houses.

(F.S.), a 50-year old Egyptian woman who works as a laborer at Gaza Hospital and lives in Sabra: I was home at 1100 on Friday when our neighbor's daughter came and told me that Israel had entered the area. We were hearing the sounds of violent shelling so I fled to the shelter. We sat there with many other people. I had to work on that day and wanted to go to my work at Gaza. My neighbors tried to restrain me because of the heavy shelling but I did go. I saw many dead people in the streets. I reached the hospital and when the people there heard of what I had seen, they all fled. A few of us remained at the hospital with a number of foreign doctors until Saturday morning.

On Saturday morning, I went to bring bread and saw an armed man in front of me. He said to me: "Come here" and took me away with him. I had my passport with me. They then took all those present in the hospital out to the public street and started to ask us if we had any money or gold on us. They proceeded to take our gold and money. I had 1,500 Lebanese pounds on me. They took them and returned my passport and work permit to me. They took us to Abu Hasan Salamah Square. There, we saw the dead lying in the street. They then took the young men and pushed them into a ditch. We started to scream and they threatened us with death. They took the foreign doctors away while taking us to the sports stadium. Meanwhile, they were telling us: "Clap your hands" and "who is going to join us?" When we reached the Kuwaiti Embassy, they said to us: "We want men, not women." They had with them a Palestinian-Jordanian [sic] spy with the rank of major who had always been present at Sabra and Shatila, working as a shoe shine near 'Ali Handar's coffee shop. When they released us, we returned to Gaza. Afterwards, that spy came to Gaza and we began to scream "Sa'd Haddad has come." But the spy was alone so the men seized him and handed him over to the army. We then went to al-Bastah where we stayed until the situation subsided. Their accent was Lebanese and their clothes military.

An 18-year old Palestinian youth who works as a grocer and lives in Shatila Camp: The armed men entered the area on Thursday night and stationed themselves in the house of our neighbor ('A.D.) whom they had killed while he was trying to flee. Our neighbor had had one of his legs amputated so he stumbled and fell while fleeing and was captured by the armed men. After killing him, they stationed themselves in his house where they destroyed everything, firing their bullets at the television, the video machine, the washing machine, the refrigerator and everything else. They turned the house upside down. My sister got out of the house to get some things. They saw her and proceeded to

drag her under the house in which they were stationed. They killed her and then proceeded to disfigure her with acid and axes. They thus became aware that there were other people in the house. Meanwhile, I fled to our neighbors. They entered and killed my family in the house. I returned to the house on Saturday and saw the bodies of my family in front of the house.

(H.M.), a 21-year old Lebanese woman from the outskirts of Shatila Camp: We heard of the entry of the Israelis on Thursday. At around 1600, they advanced in the direction of al-Hursh. I got scared and told my husband: "I must go to al-Ghubayri. Moments later, my brother (S) who is 19 years old and who has a car, came carrying the bodies of 3 men he did not know. He found the bodies near the statue of Abu Hasan Salamah and took them to 'Akka Hospital.

My brother went to the market to buy food for his family. My mother, sister, his wife (S) and their children were at the house of my brother (A). I stayed home with my children while my husband and his children from his first wife, along with another man, went to 'Akka Hospital. In the evening, armed men entered my brother's house while the family was cutting a watermelon to eat it. The armed men killed my mother and sister (A), her husband, my brother (S), his wife (S) and their children.

As for my husband, I know nothing about him so far. The man who had accompanied him has been found dead.

('A.H.), a 55-year old Lebanese woman from Bi'r Hasan: On the first days of the massacre, there were nearly 50-60 of us women. The armed men gathered us near the statue of Abu Hasan Salamah and started swearing at us "You pimps..." I said to one of them: "Shame, I am like your mother." He answered: "So and so to you and to my mother." Another armed man told him: "Open fire on them. Shoot her, spray her."

They took us to the sports city where they released some of us and kept the others. They released me and I returned home where I heard reports of the massacre. My nephew was with me. I went to 'Akka Hospital where we saw them (the armed men) slaughtering people and I felt "stunned" and "dazed." They were torturing people. I found 4 corpses on the road leading to Riyad. I stopped and an armed man said to me: "Why are you standing here?" I answered: "I don't know." He ordered me to move. I returned home and found it demolished and bulldozed. An armed man speaking with a Lebanese accent and wearing a military uniform said to me "you..."

(S. Kh.), an 18-year Kurdish woman from Turkey who lives in Bi'r Hasan: Our house is in Bi'r Hasan. My 25-year old husband who works making Narit (charcoal bags) went looking for work on Tuesday but couldn't find any. He returned home and lied on the bed.

Three armed men entered our house. One of them was wearing a light-colored beige and khaki uniform, a red beret and a black band and the other 2 were wearing green uniforms similar to those of the fedayeen.

They took us to Sabra and separated the women on one side and the men on the other. Since then, I have learned nothing about my husband and we have not found his body. Those missing in my family are: My husband, (M.H.) who is 25 years old, my 65-year old uncle (H.H.), and my 23-year old brother-in-law (Kh.H.).

Lawyer (Y), a Lebanese: When the Lebanese army entered and deployed in the western area, I left Fardan [Verdant] area, where I live with my family, and returned to Bi'r Hasan to repair the buildings we own.

On the morning of 15 September, I heard news of the assassination of Bashir al-Jumayyil. However, I did not imagine that massacres as the ones that have occurred could occur after his assassination. I left Fardan area and when I reached the Kuwaiti Embassy, an Israeli roadblock stopped me and demanded my identity card, asking me about my profession and my place of work.

I was at my home on Wednesday night. I heard bullet fire but it was not intense.

At 1100 on Thursday, I could see Israeli tracked vehicles and tanks on the street across my house. I went to al-Hadiqah and from there to 'Akka Hospital to inquire about what was happening. I was told that the Israeli forces were surrounding the camps.

In the evening, we heard the sounds of guns and machineguns and so I went down to the shelter with my family members: My father, mother and the maid. There were 4 of us in the shelter which is separate and is located in a building independent of the hospital.

At 1000 on Friday, we learned of the murder of 3 Egyptian workers, including my assistant, called 'Arabi. Following the incident, we held a meeting to see what we could do. The opinion varied during the meeting which took place at the 'Akka Hospital and included the medical crew, including Dr Muhammad al-Khatib. After the meeting, I went up to my house and could see from the window masses of people fleeing in the direction of the airport circle.

Meanwhile, my mother came up to the house with an armed man wearing a military uniform. He asked me with a Lebanese accent: "What are you doing here?" I told him: "This is my office." Then an armed group comprised of 6-8 persons came and stole the cars and my father's safe. One of them shot me in the leg and they then ordered us to go downstairs. They lined us up against the wall several times. The gardener and 2 young women whom I had not seen before were with us. They took away Dr 'Ali 'Uthman who had been hiding at the Research and Development Center and dragged him on the ground before our eyes. They then took the building janitor, a 45-year old man called Ahmad Qabi, and killed him. Other armed men killed the 65-year old gardener, called abu 'Adil.

Another group of armed men then came and interrogated the 2 young women who said that they were Lebanese. One of the 2 women was called (N) and the other (A). One of the armed men gave (A) a piece of paper on which he had written the letters (F.S.) and departed.

Then another group of armed men came. One of them took (A) to the shelter after she had given him the piece of paper. I could hear her screaming and heard bullets being fired. The armed man then came up laughing and shouting before his friends: "I raped and killed her." The Red Cross team came and descended to the shelter where they saw the woman's body.

On Saturday, I went to the Red Cross center in al-Hamra'. I met sister Umm al-Walid, sister Hadla and Dr 'Azmi and acquainted them with all details of the situation at the hospital.

(L.N.), a 24-year old Lebanese woman who has a grocery shop in Sabra Camp: At 1300 on Friday, I and my mother were home. My mother was performing her ablutions in preparation for the Friday prayers. We heard the sound of shells and bullets and we saw our neighbor drop to the floor suddenly. I told my mother who said: "It is possible that he has tripped over some stones." It never occurred to us that he had been killed and fallen to the ground.

I and my mother came out of the house to see what was the matter and were surprised to see armed men brandishing their weapons--Kalashnikoffs--in our faces. They asked us if we had any armed people with us and we said no. They then entered our house and inspected it. When they could find nothing, they told us to go to the sports city. While getting ready to go, 4 other armed men came suddenly and started firing at us incessantly. I was hit by a bullet in my left hand and ran to hide in one of the alleys but fell down. They advanced to finish me. When I saw them, I rose quickly and fled. They tried to chase me a third time but I managed to flee. They hit my mother in the stomach and she was killed. Moreover, they disfigured her and cut off her fingers and toes, hand, foot and head with axes. I fled to Gaza Hospital in Sabra where my wounded hand was dressed and then returned to the camp to find out what had happened to my mother, only to find her disfigured in this manner. When I returned, they had withdrawn and stolen whatever money she had on her.

Their accent was Lebanese and [the symbol of] Lebanon's cedar was on their shoulders. At the beginning and while getting ready to go to the sports city according to their wish, we passed by the armed men and saw them drinking whiskey and 'araq and injecting each other with needles. When we passed close to them, 4 of them moved from the left side and 2 from the right side and surrounded us until we passed the spot where they were sitting around a table and drinking alcohol. We then fell into the hands of the other four who wounded me and killed my mother. Upon finding my mother dead, I returned to Gaza Hospital and from there I went to al-Fakihani. I returned to the camp on Saturday noon. There were countless bodies there.

(S.Y.), a 37-year old Palestinian man who carries out engineering works and lives in al-Sana'i' Quarter, Beirut: I was originally a resident of Dubayyah Camp but left that area when the Phalangists entered it and took refuge in al-Sana'i' area in Beirut. There, I lost my family when the Israelis shelled the building in which I lived during the recent war. I was taken to Gaza Hospital to be treated because I had been wounded in the shoulder as a result of the incident.



I was lying wounded in Gaza Hospital and was not aware of the massacres taking place in the area, even though I had heard some rumors from a number of people who had taken refuge in Gaza Hospital to flee the Phalanges.

At 2100 on Saturday, armed men came to the Gaza area but did not enter it. Instead, they urged the area residents by microphones to come out, saying: "We are the Free State of Lebanon. Whoever surrenders will be safe." We all came out, including the wounded, the doctors and everybody in the hospital.

They took us near al-Sharq Movie Theater in Sabra. There, they gathered us, moved us to a nearby yard, lined us up and sprayed us with bullets.

I was hit in the shoulder and fainted. They thought that I was dead. I remained unconscious for about 8 hours after which I regained my consciousness. I was smeared with blood and there were numerous dead men, women and children around me. I could see no armed men and so I walked until I reached the Martyrs Cemetery. There, a woman saw me and took me to Gaza Hospital where I was treated until I recovered.

The armed men wore military uniforms exactly the same as those of the army. Their accent was Lebanese. I only saw Phalangists on that day.

(S.D.), a 17-year old Palestinian girl who lives in Shatila Camp: On Wednesday, I learned of the Israelis' entry. So I fled with my family to 'Akka Hospital. armed men entered the hospital and told us: "Go to the sports city and surrender there."

At 1730, we raised a white flag and went to the airport circle. They refused to receive us there and ordered us to go to the sports city. We headed for the sports city but upon arriving in "irsan, we found the Phalanges there. They took the white flags from us and trampled them with their feet. They then separated us into men and women and ordered us to go to the U.S. building near the Kuwaiti Embassy. But they detained the men. They put us in an army truck which was surrounded by several bulldozers. One of the armed men addressed another one with the letters (BM) and the other answered with the letters (AB). "We will slaughter them and drink their blood because it is Palestinian blood." We had with us a Lebanese girl whose name I didn't know. One of the armed men told her: "You had your picture taken with Abu 'Ammar and I saw the picture." He took the girl out of the truck and she started to cry, swearing that she was Lebanese and didn't know Abu 'Ammar. They took us by truck to a place which we didn't know but where there were many pictures of Bashir al-Jumayyil. There also were many armed men. When they saw that we were all women and children, one of them rebuked the driver, telling him: "What are you bringing me women and children for? I want men to drink their blood. Take them back." The driver took us back to al-Awza'i by way of 'Aramun. When we reached al-Awza'i, they let the Lebanese go and detained the Palestinians.

('A.F.), a 50-year old Lebanese man from Beirut: At 0700 on Thursday, I was in the house drinking tea with my family members. Suddenly, armed men wearing green uniforms bearing the words Lebanon's Army, the Phalanges, the Lebanese

Forces entered the house and said to us: "Surrender and you will be safe." We told them: "We are Lebanese. What do you want of us? We have no weapons and here are our identity cards." They paid no attention to our words and they took us out of the house and into the public street. There, they lined up the women and the children on one side and the men on the other. Then they asked us, the men, to lie down on the floor and they started trampling our heads and firing on us. I remained alive but pretended to be dead for fear that I would be shot again. But my trick didn't work because one of them came and said to me: "You are still alive, you brother of a..." and shot me again. I was hit in my leg and arm and with 5 other bullets in various parts of my body.

After they departed, a young man was crossing the street. I called him and said: "Go back. Don't come close. The Phalanges are inside, look what they have done to us. Please, save me. I am still alive and bleeding to death. Get me the ambulance quickly." After he left, my daughter came. She was going to 'Akka Hospital to see what had happened to us. She found me writhing in my blood and couldn't drag me because she is little. I looked around me and found my son dead close to me. I tried to move close to him but couldn't. My daughter-in-law came and found me lying on the ground. She assisted me and took me to 'Akka Hospital.

On Friday, the Phalangists entered the hospital. One of them approached and asked me: "Where are you from?" I told him all that had happened to me. He said: "How come they tried to kill you when you are a Lebanese?" I said: "I don't know." He then asked me: "From what area are you?" I said: "I am from (...) in Tyre." He was surprised and asked: "Why are you living here?" I said: "My work is here and this is the reason." He thanked God for my safety and did nothing to me. The boy lying next to me was a 13-year old Palestinian boy and they took him with them and killed him. The International Red Cross showed up after everything ended and took us to Najjar Hospital. The armed men's accent was the Lebanese mountain accent.

(S.'A.), a 34-year old female teacher from Sabra Camp: I left my house at 0600 on Saturday. At the door, I met 2 armed persons wearing military uniforms bearing the insignia of the Lebanese Forces. One of them ordered me to join the prisoners who had gathered on the road. On the road, I saw a young man telling the armed men "I am Lebanese." An armed man answered him: "But you are Muslim" and shot him with a gun fitted with a silencer and killed him. I entered the place where the people were gathered and saw many women, children and old men.

I then saw foreign doctors proceeding from the direction of Gaza Hospital. They walked in front of us and the hospital workers walked behind us. Bodies were lying on the ground, with the limbs cut off. Some had been bulldozed and others had been dumped atop garbage piles.

Houses were demolished on the heads of their occupants and the bulldozers were demolishing the camp. At the end of the street (the massacre street), I heard the commander of the armed men speak in an unclear Arabic accent and realized that he was an "Israeli" from his accent and looks. He was fair and tall.



The armed men were spitting on and insulting the people. Then they ordered some prisoners to climb down into the ditches and began to spray them with bullets. I was able to recognize 2 male nurses from Gaza Hospital who were shot and killed immediately by the armed men.

(M.M.), a 12-year old Palestinian student who lives in Shatila Camp: At 1300 on Thursday, shelling against the area started. I went with my family to the shelter. The shelling continued until about 1800. We were still in the shelter listening to the sounds of the bullets and of the shelling when a man came at around 1830, screaming: "The Phalanges have come down and they are massacring people. At 1900, my brother, along with my sister and uncle, left the shelter and fled to the old people's home in Sabra. I remained with the rest of my family and nearly 7 other families in the shelter. At about 2000, the Phalanges came and began to call the men, ordering them to come out of the shelters and the houses. They gathered them, lined them up against a wall and started beating them with rifle butts. Then they took the women and the children close to Gaza Hospital near the camp entrance and the Fatah gas station. They gathered us there and made us sit on the ground. They had [search] lights above them and they were stationed in corners. A clash then erupted near the Kuwaiti Embassy and one of them was wounded. I heard one of the Phalanges say that it was resistance on the part of al-Murabitun. When one of them got hit, another said: "They have killed my brother." And they began to shoot at us. I was hit in my left leg and pretended to be dead. Nearly an hour later, they said: "Let whoever is still alive stand up so that we may take him to the hospital." I and my mother were among the wounded. My mother started to rise but I told her they were lying. Actually, they killed all those who stood up. We stayed in this position until the morning. When they saw me trembling, they realized that I was still alive. They shot me again and I was hit in my right arm. They then brought white sheets and covered the dead. Meanwhile, and while I was lying down, I heard them say "welcome." I believe it was a code word among them. In the morning, they saw me trembling, they said: "This one is not dead yet, even though we have already shot him." They shot me again but I had my hands over my head. A bullet hit me in the hand and severed my finger. At 1400, they went to have their lunch and I heard them say: "We will eat and then bring trucks and bulldozers." When I saw them moving away, I jumped and slipped into an alley close to the street. I then entered a house whose door had been pulled down. The house had been ransacked and turned upside down. I changed my clothes for other clothes which I found in the house. Then armed men entered the house and told me: "You, where are the jewels and the money you have stolen. We are going to kill you as we killed the others." I told them: "They have killed my entire family." I started to beg them and they said: "We are going to kill you." One of them pulled out a knife to slaughter me but another armed man told him: "Wait a little. We want to ask him if he is Palestinian or Lebanese." They asked me and I told them that I was Lebanese. They said: "If you were a Palestinian, we would have slaughtered you." They left me and departed. I fled to the alleys. While fleeing, I heard 2 of them say: "Where is he. We want to shoot him." I entered the alley leading to Shatila Mosque and then to Gaza Hospital.

Their accent was southern Lebanese and they included some who could not speak Arabic correctly. Their uniforms were green and they had a cedar on their shoulders and a circle on the chest.

(B.A.R.), a 17-year old Palestinian woman who is in her fifth month of pregnancy and who lives in Sabra Camp: At 1800 on Thursday, we were in our house and shells were dropping around it. My husband suggested that we go to his aunt's house and we did.

Moments later, my sister-in-law came and told us that "Israel" had entered the camp. At this point, my husband said: "We have not fought and we will surrender."

My husband asked his sister to go to our house and bring our identity cards. She left and moments later, we heard her voice: "Ouch, mother."

I suggested to my uncle (M.A.R.), who is an old man, to go and see what happened. We told him: "You are an old man and no one would dare kill you." He went and moments later we heard a shot. We waited long but he did not come back. We felt alarmed and didn't know what was going on outside. Their voices reached us, mixed with screams and moans... "Ilyas, George, you move on to the second house,"

On Friday morning, they tried to enter the house we lived in, a house which consisted of 2 floors. They did not enter through the main door but climbed a ladder, opened a hole in the top floor and entered the house. They proceeded to break the television, the recorder and the china. We could hear the sounds of breakage but didn't know what was going on.

At this point, my cousin suggested that we shout "we have small children with us" and that we show our heads from the window, perhaps they would refrain from shooting if they saw women. I and ('A) put our heads outside the window. When they saw us, they rained bullets on the window and started shouting: "Get out, you pimps, and raise your hands."

Moments later, a group of armed men entered the residence. There were nearly 20 of them and they were wearing dark green uniforms and I could read on their arms the words: "The Free Lebanon Army--Maj Sa'd Haddad's Forces." Their berets carried the words: "The Free Lebanon Army."

They divided us into 2 groups: The men on one side and the women on the other. At this moment, my husband felt that he was going to get killed. He tried to give me the money he had on his person but one of the armed men prevented him. I knelt before the armed man's feet and said: "I will give you what you want, gold, money. Just don't kill my husband and the others. He answered: "Shut up before I drop your body in a heap."

He then ordered the women to leave the house and we left with our children. Upon reaching the alley leading to our house, I saw my uncle's body lying on the floor and I screamed: "You miserable woman, this is your father, (Sh.)."

I also saw the body of another man in front of our kitchen and that of a third man, wearing jeans and with a curly hair smeared in blood, near the pool.

Bodies were strewn on the road. All our furniture was outside the house and the armed men were drinking Pepsi and beer which they had taken from our shop. I cannot estimate their number because they were many.

One of them shouted: "Take them to the sports city." We walked in front of them. On the way, I was able to recognize the body of my husband's sister. It was covered but I recognized it by the skirt and the hair. I screamed: "This is ('A). She is dead, (Sh.)." I saw many corpses that I could not recognize. But I did recognize the body of our neighbor, Abu Nayif, who had been hit with an axe on the head and whose brains was splattered on a stone in front of him.

After all I had seen, I did not believe that we would remain alive. They took us to the sports city and put us in a room with many other women. Outside, the soldiers were vilifying us and shooting in the air. One of them sat on a chair, pulled out a dagger and started to play with it, at times putting it on his chest and at others on his neck. I became extremely frightened and told myself: They are going to kill us with this dagger.

My sister-in-law's baby, a 2-month old baby, began to cry. One of them screamed in her face: "Silence him or I will kill him." Meanwhile, a small dark blue car arrived carrying a man wearing a military uniform. When he climbed out of the car, all the soldiers stood up. One of the women said: "He is perhaps Sa'd Haddad."

They then ordered us to evacuate the sports city and proceed to the Kuwaiti Embassy. I was hungry and exhausted, and so were my children. I started to cry. One of them swore at me, saying: "Why are you crying, you bitch?"

While proceeding on the road leading to the Kuwaiti Embassy, they ordered us to hurry up and they shot between the legs of any woman who failed to move fast. I could not move fast between the mines [sic] because I was in my fifth month of pregnancy and had 2 children with me. Finally, we reached the Kuwaiti Embassy vicinity and saw Israeli tanks and soldiers.

The dark blue car came back. A man I couldn't recognize climbed out of it and screamed: "You dog, where are you taking them? Take them back to the [sports] city without food. They don't deserve anything." We returned to the sports city.

In the sports city, we found 2 armed men. One of them said: "Go to al-Fakihani Street. You may find something to eat."

We went to a building on al-Fakihani Street and entered it. We found 2 Kurdish families there. When they learned that we were Palestinians, they feared the consequences and kicked us out. They told us to sleep outside and didn't give us any food. But one of the men gave us some blankets to sleep on.

We could not sleep from severe hunger and exhaustion and we don't know how the morning arrived.

On Saturday morning, I told myself: "God does not abandon. We must eat something, especially the children who started demanding water, milk and food from me. I was grieved and tired. I didn't know what had happened to my husband and his cousin and whether they were still alive or had been killed by the armed men. We went to the 'A'ishah Bakkar area. At a school for the evacuees, we bought bread and cheese and ate for the first time in 3 days.

('A), the wife of my husband's cousin, said: "I will return to the camp. I must find out what has happened to my husband and the others." She went alone. I and (Sh.) did not dare go with her.

She returned 2 hours later crying loudly and told me that my husband, her husband, the husband of (Sh.) and 2 other men she could not recognize were dead and that the murderers had put a motorcycle atop their bodies. She also said that there were hundreds of bodies in the camp and that the armed men were saying: "Let whoever has a corpse hurry up and bury it."

I wept, beat my head and felt deeply grieved for my husband. An hour later, my brother-in-law came and couldn't believe that we were still alive. He took us to his home.

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CSO: 4404/178

EYEWITNESSES DESCRIBE DETENTION IN ANSAR CAMP

Beirut SHU'UN FILASTINIYAH in Arabic Nos 132, 133 & 134, November-December 1982 & January 1983

[Article by Sa'dun Husayn: "Testimony by Ansar Prisoner"]

[Nos 132 & 133, November-December 1982, pp 17-40]

[Text] This testimony avoids revealing the names connected with the events for fear their disclosure may be damaging to the people involved who are still under detention or who have been released but still live in the Israeli occupation areas.

The indiscriminate shelling extended to all areas and we began to sleep in shelters and on the steps of movie theaters on al-Hamra' Street. For me and my family, like the rest of the citizens, the situation became unbearable. The constant bombing by aircraft turned our residential areas into a place very much like an inferno, not to mention the scarcity of foodstuffs and their insanely high prices, with the kilogram of squash costing 16 Lebanese pounds and that of eggplants 18 pounds. As for bread, it became so scarce that I had to go to the bakery at 0400 and wait at its door for long hours while waiting for my turn to get a "bundle" of bread.

Thus, it seemed that there was no end to our suffering. The shelling was escalating and intensifying and the predicament, on the other hand, was scorching more and more violently with its barbaric tongues. Matters deteriorated to such an extent that I could no longer find a shelter for my 3 children and my wife. The one time I headed for a hotel, its well-groomed servant demanded 300 pounds for a night's stay for me and my family. This forced me to live in a school in al-Musaytibah. But even this place in which I managed to take refuge with my children was not safe because that school quickly entered the sphere of the Israeli naval, air and ground shelling.

Where to?

I am not the one to answer this question but the taxicab driver who refuses to take me to the south for less than 700 pounds. Even this sum was small when



compared to the sums demanded by those exploiting the war as a price for essential needs. Moreover, gas was unavailable and there were those who were charging 2,000 pounds for a trip to Tyre or al-Nabatiyah.

So I paid 700 pounds, all the money I possessed, to the taxicab driver who took us from Beirut to the south. All along the road, the traces of the barbaric war were evident to the eye: Demolished factories and citizens living in the open over the debris of their homes, including the inhabitants of the tin shacks which had been blown to pieces by the violent shelling. Sidon, the capital of the south, turned into ruins and the traces of the Zionist barbarism were reflected on every street and every corner. We reached the city at 1000 and the relatives received us with tears.

Some people were relaxed with the invasion. You even heard such phrases as "Israel's coming is an act of mercy for us, they have rid us of the Palestinians and we have rested." Naturally, this feeling varied from village to village. But I couldn't argue with anybody by virtue of the violence of the war and of the social tragedies it has generated. Many people had thought that the Israeli "defense army" would not harm them or arrest any of their sons "because most of them are clean and Israel arrests saboteurs only." This delusion had nested in the minds of many southerners. Moreover, Israel on its part encouraged such delusions in the villages and the camps. The Israeli declarations had been telling the citizens "surrender and you will be safe, whoever surrenders his weapon will not be arrested" and "whoever carries the security identity card will not be harmed." To put it briefly, the prevalent feeling in the south had been the feeling that Israel would only deal with those organized in the National Movement and the resistance.

Israel, which had helped spread and entrench this feeling among the citizens, was giving entry permits to all citizens, both Lebanese and Palestinian, with the aim of trapping them in its snares. Moreover, Israel, within the framework of its attempts to mislead people into believing in its goodwill, began to enter many villages from the doors of social and financial aid.

The Israeli occupation of the south has brought behind it many of those collaborating with this occupation who had been forced, because of the popular wrath against them, to live far from the areas of the national presence in the south. The return of Al al-Khalil to Tyre, the expanding area of Haddad's influence and the return of al-Dayikh to Juwayya are the most prominent examples of the new situation entrenched by the occupation. The occupation has also dropped the masks from the faces of some agents who had been hiding before--agents who have put on the Israeli uniforms with utter insolence. These groups which the occupation has brought with it have begun to open military centers and to enroll and recruit all the corrupt and the "rotten" to assist the Israeli occupation in its campaigns to torture the national elements and to impose a climate of terror and (protectionism) on the citizens, as is the case in the villages of Ansar, 'Adlun, Kafr Rumman, al-Zarariyah and Juwayya where the "followers" levy taxes on every citizen and vehicle under the pretext of paying the salaries of the village guards. Haydar Dayikh has projected himself as a sectarian personality wearing the robe of occupation: "I am a fanatic Shi'ite who rejects Haddad's coming here and his entry to your villages to

torture your sons." Dayikh has even gone further by pasting the picture of Imam Musa al-Sadr on his military vehicles, thus trying to mislead the people but forgetting the fact that it is no longer easy to mislead the southern masses. This has been proven by numerous villages that have renounced Maydar Dayikh and the people like him and that have refused to deal with them. This rejection has motivated Dayikh and his likes to tighten their grip on the southern villages and to always be in the lead and the vanguard whenever the enemy's army has stormed this or that village to arrest some of the nationalists and throw them in the "stockades" of the Israeli detention camps. On the occasions when subsidiary conflicts developed between Al al-Khalil and al-Dayikh over spheres of influence, Israel has intervened to solve the problem between the brothers.

#### Arrest

Arrests have been going on since the beginnings of the Israeli invasion of the south. Arrests were being made even under the boom of the guns and the shells and reached the extent whereby the enemy forces arrested many wounded in the hospitals, not to mention the fact that many other wounded prisoners were arrested in their homes and on the roads. To achieve its goals of arresting the largest number possible, the enemy army command resorted to spreading such rumors as "we will not harass the Lebanese. The Palestinian civilians who had not carried arms will not be harmed." To prove the credibility of these rumors, the occupation forces would gather the inhabitants of a camp without arresting any of them, exactly as happened in al-Hayb (al-Qasimiyah) camp where the Israelis told the inhabitants: "We are kinsmen and will take away none of you." The enemy performed the same theatrical with a number of Lebanese villages: "This village is a good one and we will not touch it."

This Israeli tactic which spread a climate of reassurance in the area resulted in the return of the citizens who had fled their homes. And then came the zero hour for the occupation troops who started to ship the citizens to the detention camps. The result has been the detention of thousands of the inhabitants of the camps and villages.

#### Safa Factory

When we climbed into the bus, we didn't know where we were going. Some of us were even laughing, as if on a picnic. At the beginning, we reached Safa Factory which had been turned into a factor for "processing people" instead of processing citrus fruits. We stayed there for 4 days under the sun, sleeping on the ground and using the sky for a cover. What is more, we were prohibited from moving our bodies while asleep. If any of us did, his punishment was a beating with a club. One of the prisoners was bitten by a big rat but he bit his lips and did not kick the rat for fear of being subjected to a beating. As for "relieving our natural needs," it was done in the same place where we slept! Regarding food, they threw each of us a piece of bread and a tomato once a day.

At Safa Factory, a middle-aged 60-year old man died when a soldier pushed him off a truck. Even though the man's 2 sons were at the factory, they did not permit them to take part in his burial.



In front of the factory gate, scores of women stand every day to inquire about their husbands. Once a woman came from 'Ayn al-Hulwah and asked the guard to see her husband so as to get money from him to enter the hospital to deliver her baby. When the husband was notified, he sent her his watch to sell it.

At the factory, those not pointed out by the "masked man" were released. Though correct on occasion, most of those the masked man pointed out had nothing to do with the resistance or the National Movement. The man's disposition governed his actions at times and at other times, he carried out the instructions given to him in advance by the occupation authorities to point out a certain number. Thus, the masked man pointed out people indiscriminately until the quota was met. Once the Zionists tried to test the correctness of the information of the "masked men" and some troops wore civilians clothes and mingled with the prisoners and the detainees. The "masked men" proceeded to point out those troops.

#### Going to Israel

The soldiers tied and blindfolded us. We didn't know where they were taking us. On the way, we could hear nothing but weeping and shouting. The soldiers were doing their exercising by beating us with rifle butts at times and with clubs at others and by spitting in our faces and vilifying us with the ugliest insults. If you tried to protest, then blood would certainly flow from your mouth. On the bus, many of the prisoners defecated in their pants because the Israelis would not permit them to relieve themselves. Suddenly, the bus stopped and we stayed inside it for nearly an hour during which we felt that we were dying. While the bus was parked, they searched our pockets and took away every penny we had. In one of the buses, they collected nearly 36,000 pounds in money, watches and rings. They did not hesitate to take away even the packs of Marlboro cigarettes.

Perhaps the pothole on the bus' path was the only thing that made us aware that we were still in Lebanon. When we reached the enemy settlements, the Zionists rushed to watch and torment us. A little girl "urinated" on the head of one of the prisoners while other Israeli girls climbed into the bus and slapped the prisoners "on their necks with their hands." Hot water, coffee and tea were also thrown on our faces. Once, settlers armed with axes tried to force their way into the bus but were stopped by the Israeli security forces. The Israeli army had brought us military uniforms and ordered us to wear them, thus trying to portray us to the Israelis as "saboteurs" captured in the battlefield.

The trip from Safa Factory to Israel lasted nearly 6 hours, which is a long time for the distance traveled--a distance which requires much less time. But what prolonged the trip were the constant stops made by the enemy soldiers, one time to drink coffee and another to parade us before the settlers. During this long period, some of us fainted as a result of thirst or of being struck painfully with clubs.

## In Ditch

In a ditch surrounded by barbed wire and high earthen barriers, or call it "the ditch" as people came to call it--that grave which most of the prisoners came to know and in which they lived under conditions about which the least that can be said is that people had to urinate and defecate in 2 buckets with no covers and no drainage;

In this ditch, the process of organizing the prisoners' affairs is carried out. The prisoners are given numbers and identity cards with their real names. Their photographs are taken and everything in their possession is taken away to be recorded in the trusts list.

We are then ordered to take off our clothes and are sprayed with D.D.T. so that lice may not infest our heads. We are then driven to one of the "ditch's" corners.

Before going to be interrogated, we experienced a very strong fear. We thought that what the interrogator was going to confront us with would be very serious because the Israelis have in their bag detailed personal dossiers on the detainees. But it soon became evident that they didn't know a thing and that had it not been for the reports of some lackeys, they would not have been able to arrest this enormous number of young men in the villages and camps. The interrogation conducted with us was more of a (personality sketch) than an actual political interrogation. The interrogation was such that a physician gets more information from a visiting patient than the interrogator got from the detainees. The fear which had seized some in the early phase was what helped the enemy uncover many of the detainees. For example, a Zionist officer came to us before the interrogation and said: "We know everything about you. Let the fighters stand in one line, the officers in another, the recruits [al-ta'bi'ah] in another and the militia in another." In this deceptive way, the Zionists were able to get much information from the detainees. At times, the officer used to come, call a prisoner and mislead him into believing that he knew his financial [sic] number, thus forcing the prisoner to make his confessions before the interrogation.

When I entered the interrogation room, the interrogator asked me: What is your name? I told him my name.

What is your citizenship? I said: Lebanese. He retorted: For you to be Lebanese, your name must be George.

He then said: "We know everything about you and if you confess, we will release you immediately." He then proceeded to ask me the following questions:

1. In what organization were you?
2. Where were you arrested?
3. What is your rank?

4. Didn't you take money [presumably meaning did you get a salary]?
5. Where do you live?
6. What is your job?
7. Have you worked in an Arab country?
8. Have you traveled to a European country?
9. Do you have relatives there?

We remained in the ditch for 3 days, under the sun, tied and crowded. There were nearly 200 of us. On the third day, they gave us a moldy piece of bread with a tomato. On the fifth day, we were taken into a camp--we were told it was in Acre District--and divided into groups. There were nearly 80 of us in a single tent.

In the early morning and in the evening, the system of "roll call" was applied to us. The guards would enter the camp and begin counting the prisoners, with our heads lowered and with us squatting for nearly 2 hours [every time]. In the tent, you were forbidden from speaking to your colleagues or standing. Speaking to the occupants of the adjacent tent would subject you to standing in the sun for long hours. If the guards wanted one of the prisoners, they usually called him by saying to him: "You lunatic, you dog."

The food consisted of the following: In the morning, half a cup of tea and a piece of (Beacon) cheese, and at times the half cup of tea only. Lunch consisted of half an egg and a piece of bread. In the evening, it was a carrot or a small spoon of jelly. They also gave each prisoner 2 (Silon) cigarettes daily. Silon is the worst kind of cigarettes. The food we were eating was better than that provided at some other camps whose prisoners would go for days without even a "mouthful" of bread.

As for the toilet facilities, they consisted of a hole to which every 10 persons went together at defecation time. Soap was nonexistent, not to mention that "health care" is a phrase omitted from their dictionary, despite the numerous cases of fainting and the presence of wounded prisoners in the camp. When we appealed to the Zionist officer to have some prisoner treated, he said: "Let him die." The fact is that if there had not been some physicians and pharmacists among the prisoners, scores of prisoners would have died of disease. The methods of torture were indescribably brutal. For example, your clothes would be taken off and you would be submerged in cold water and then beaten with an ax handle until your skin is torn. In other cases, they threw the prisoner on the floor and whipped him until his back bled.

The interrogations were few and in the cases when some people were summoned, it was not for the purpose of interrogation but for persuading the person summoned to cooperate with them, and woe be to whomever rejected the idea. Through these actions, the impression developed that the Israeli interrogators

were chaotic and confused in organizing the camps. In some cases, they counted the prisoners 4 or 5 times. At other times, they moved the prisoners from tent to tent erratically and then returned them to their places. If your name is Muhammad and the guard calls you Ahmad, you had to answer because, according to their claim, there is no difference between Ahmad, Mahmud or Muhammad.

#### Nuns' School and al-Zanazin

On the seventh day, a batch of al-Zanazin detainees, including nearly 75 children with ages ranging from 9-16 years, came to our camp. The batch also included a number of old men, some of them 70 years old, such as the father of Sami al-Khatib, the commander of the Arab Deterrent Forces. We were able to talk to some of them and they told us of the phases of their arrest and the ugly methods of torture to which they had been subjected. Teacher ('A.S.) said to me: "Upon my arrest, I was taken immediately to the nuns school in Sidon. There were nearly 1,000 of us, all of us tied, blindfolded, with hemp sacks placed over our heads and with us seated on the school's asphalted playground which had been turned by the sun into a boiler burning our bodies. This situation went on for 7 days, without food or water. We were urinating in our clothes, not to mention the kicking, the beating with clubs and water pipes on all parts of our body. They used to inject us with morphine so as to drug our bodies and that we may not feel the effect of the beating. To justify the beatings, they would put in your pocket a piece of paper containing the name of Abu Iyad or of some resistance leader and the guard would then come and start torturing you on the pretext that he wanted to know how the paper got into your pocket. At the nuns school, nearly 8 persons died of the violent torture and of thirst. They also "stripped us off every penny we had." I can say that they collected more than 50,000 pounds. When we asked the officers about our money, we were subjected to more torture.

During the invasion, the nuns school was one of the worst Israeli detention camps.

The situation in al-Zanazin [could mean in the cells] was no better than at the nuns school. Pulling fingernails by electricity, pouring acid on the body, thus causing burns, and moreover, letting police dogs loose on the prisoners were ordinary things there. One of the detainees told me: My clothes were stripped off and a police dog was let loose on me and bit me in the genitals. This was in addition to the other conventional methods, such as beatings with clubs and putting cigarettes out on the prisoners' bodies during interrogation. Al-Zanazin detainees were interrogated daily, with the prisoner brought to the interrogator to tell the latter his life story from the time he was 6 years old and to the moment of his arrest.

Return to Lebanon!

#### You Are Terrorists, not Prisoners

On the ninth day of arrest, they awakened us early and the troops began to sort out the names in preparation to returning us to Lebanon, but not our homes. During this period, I was able to talk to one of the officers, called

(Sallum), on the bad treatment to which we were being subjected. He laughed, saying: "Thank your God that we are treating you like this. You are not prisoners but terrorists caught in the battlefield. The Geneva international treaty which prohibits beating or even interrogating a prisoner does not apply to you. The food we have been giving you is an act of generosity on the part of the State of Israel. You have no rights. Even your talking to me is forbidden."

#### Ansar Camp

On the way from Israel to Ansar, one of the prisoners, called (M. 'A.) from Sidon, fainted. Despite our screams for help, a soldier came and punched him in the face. When we reached the camp, the soldiers pulled him out of the bus and kicked him painfully on the pretext that he was "pretending to be sick." The area is called Tall Ba'l, owned by Francis Rizq and cultivated with wheat. When the enemy army came, it bulldozed it and turned it into a detention camp. The area is very large and was divided into 20 camps, each camp with an area of nearly 3 donums containing 20 tents and with 25 prisoners to the tent. Each camp is separated from the next by barbed wire and a distance of nearly 10 meters. In each camp there is a kitchen tent containing 3 large pots to boil rice and tea. The gas cylinder is beyond the barbed wire so that the guard may turn it on and off whenever he wishes.

When the camp was first set up, it contained nearly 50 detainees, most of them from al-Nabatiyah District. Those detainees had spent 10 nights sleeping on stones without covers or food and with only a glass of water. One of those who witnessed the establishment phase of the camp told me that they had been beaten with iron fists and that 2 children, one of them 9 years old, had died of torture. Another prisoner developed breathing problems because of severe torture while another person, called (J.H.) continued to urinate blood for nearly a month. Haddad's men used to come to the camp and raise their rifles in the faces of the prisoners to scare them. The camp contains various nationalities, including Lebanese, Palestinians, Syrians, Iraqis, Egyptians, Yemenis, Bengals [presumably Bangladesh citizens], Pakistanis and others. The strangest thing I saw was that an inhabitant of Ansar, called (A.M.), was imprisoned in the detention camp which he cultivates and tends for Al Rizq. You could see this poor man weeping when he heard the bellowing of his cows or the screaming of his children at his home which was only 50 meters from the camp. Despite his petitions and appeals for help to the Red Cross and the camp command, nobody helped him.

#### Treatment at al-Ansar

As of the moment we dropped at the camp, the clubs became "active" over our heads. The treatment at Ansar camp surpassed in its brutality and violence what we had been subjected to inside Israel. After we were distributed into the tents, with 25 persons to the tent, the camp officer [commander] warned us against violating the post's regulations, which he summed up in the following:



1. Standing in the tents is forbidden, even if for the purpose of drinking water, unless you are permitted to do so.
2. Talking to the adjacent tent is forbidden. At times, we were prohibited from even speaking to the colleagues in the same tent.
3. You are to rise early so as to make it easy to count you.
4. During the roll call, movement of any sort is forbidden and the slightest gesture will subject you to painful beating.
5. During the day, it is forbidden to go to the toilet except on the permission of the camp command which will give this permission as it wishes.
6. During the night, it is forbidden to go to the toilet, even if you defecate in your clothes.
7. Food is distributed only on the permission of the guard.
8. It is forbidden to object to the orders of the sergeant or of the mukhtar.

To put it briefly, animals have more freedom than the detainees at Ansar. A cow in a shed can swish its tail and can eat whenever it wishes. We, especially at the start of the detention, were treated on the basis that we are many grades lower than animals.

These tyrannical rules, the likes of which do not exist in the world, I believe, demolished our spirits and subjected us to the harshest kinds of torture. At times, the guard would come during the counting process and tell the mukhtar: There are 3 men who raised their heads. So the men would be whipped until the barbed wire could hear their screams. Once, a prisoner felt sick and so he leaned on his blankets. He was beaten until his body turned "black and blue." The troops used to drink whiskey and 'araq and when they got drunk, they would beat and torture us.

In the first days, diarrhea spread and you could see tens of prisoners defecating in their clothes because you were not allowed to go to the toilet at night. Some of them used their food plates and others dug a small hole where they slept to defecate in. Once, one of the prisoners took the risk of going to the toilet at night. He was beaten until the skin on his back split open. But the "lashing" was easier for him than to be said that he defecated in his clothes.

One night, I felt nauseated and wanted to vomit but the "patrol" [presumably meaning guard] would not let me. I was permitted to do so only after exhausting efforts. So I vomited in my food plate. They did not even respect our religious rites. A prisoner, called (Kh. 'A.) from Shuhaym, went to perform his noon ablutions for prayers. His punishment was a broken finger and a swollen back from severe beating. He stayed in bed for 3 days unable to move his body.

When we went to sleep, the post guard used to say to us: "Sleep, you dogs, in the evening and wake up, you M [presumably initial for manayik, which means fags] in the morning." The food was no different from what we ate in Israel. But in the late stages, they gave us some beans. There was a dish called Maghribiyah which even chickens would not eat. The Zionists were not content with this physical torture but proceeded to turn Ansar detention camp into something like a zoo. Israeli tourist groups comprised of students would come to watch us from time to time. Yes, it was like a public zoo. But even animals have rights and are allowed to move freely in their cages and to get their means. We were denied all this!

### First Uprising

The inhuman treatment began to generate a spirit of anger and rebellion in us. On 17 June 1982, coinciding with Lailat al-Qadr [night on which Koran was revealed to prophet], we started to sing Koran phrases and perform prayers. This annoyed the camp command. The guards were alerted and the enemy armors moved in an attempt to stop us, considering that our prayers constituted a violation of their laws. We decided to continue singing the Koran by virtue of the sanctity of this night, regardless of the consequences. This determination on our part made the enemy threaten us and shoot flares to intimidate us. But all this Israeli behavior did was to further fan the fire in our souls.

On the morning of the holiday, one of the post guards shouted at a middle-aged man because he moved his body during the roll call and proceeded to hit him with a club on his head and his chest. The man complained, screaming loudly: "Shoot us. We can no longer stand this animal treatment." He then stood straight in the face of the soldiers, took off his shirt and shouted again: "Shoot, shoot you cowards. It is more honorable to us to be martyred than to live this life of humiliation." As soon as we heard those words, the camp erupted like a volcano. We proceeded from our tents, shouting: God is great and there is no god but God.

This demonstration made the camp command imprison and transfer the guard who hit the middle-aged man (this is what they said so as to cool down the uprising). But despite this measure, the anti-occupation shouts rose. One prisoner tried to hang himself, using the tent rope. A few more seconds and he would have died. We caught up with him while he was spitting blood. Upon his return from the hospital, this prisoner said: "Death is better than this dog life." Moreover, nearly 10 prisoners suffered from nervous breakdown. This unrest made the occupation forces loosen their grip and they asked us to submit a list of our demands through the post's mikhtar. A secret committee was formed by the prisoners and we submitted several demands for improved food and healthcare and for permitting us to go to the toilet at night. The officer [commander] did actually respond to our demands. However, we expected the enemy to try to punish us for the demonstration. In fact, the post's mukhtar was transferred a few days later because he sided with us. We rejected this measure also. A struggle unit had been formed inside the post [camp] and the with its momentum, we were able to foil the enemy measures. What helped us intensify the demonstration was the arrival of the International Red Cross at the camp.



## International Red Cross

As soon as the International Red Cross vehicles were seen, applause erupted throughout the camps because the Red Cross' arrival was tantamount to international recognition of our rights. This was our first contact with the outside world after 2 months of detention.

The first step taken by the Red Cross (14-15 July) was to make a full count of the prisoners' names and to send notifications to our families to reassure them that we were alive and in the hands of the Zionist enemy. We also sent letters to our families before the lesser feast [al-Fitr holiday] which were received 2 months after they had been sent. What is more, many prisoners reached their families before the letters because the Israeli military censor examined the letters carefully. The Red Cross then delivered many of the letters to the families of the prisoners, especially in Tyre area. The Red Cross also delivered to our families authorizations [power of attorney] in the middle of September. Red Cross officials visited the camps from time to time. In the middle of August, they investigated the living conditions of the prisoners and the outcome was as follows:

1. There were 25 persons in each tent.
2. One bar of soap for every 25 persons per week.
3. Two blankets for each person.
4. One shaving blade for every 25 persons.
5. A pair of underwear for each person.
6. Toothpaste [tube] for every 25 prisoners, often without a brush.
7. A shirt and a pair of trousers for every prisoner.
8. A plastic plate, spoon and tea cup (the plates were bad and unfit for use).
9. The toilets are exposed and have no cover.
10. One loaf of bread for every 4 persons.

After this investigation, nothing changed in our treatment, except for an increase in the number of soap bars. The Red Cross was not able to even get the sick out of the detention camp. The same goes for our complaint over the Israeli side's treatment because the enemy paid no attention to the Red Cross observations in this regard and persisted in his bad and inhumane treatment. What is worth noting here is that we discerned Zionist inclinations among some of the Red Cross elements. One of its employees refused to go to the demolished home of one of the prisoners in Al-Bass because the home is close to one of the resistance offices. Another employee said to one of the prisoners when he asked her if it was possible to withdraw his money which was in trust

with the Israelis in order to give it to his wife: Let your wife beg. The Red Cross employees also conducted an indirect political investigation of the prisoners. They used to ask, for example, if there were among the detainees partisan elements that could not go to their countries. Whenever we asked them about our personal status and about our release, their answer was that they had nothing to do with this issue.

The role of the International Red Cross was so limited that it did not alleviate our suffering, except for reassuring our families. We also rejoiced when the Red Cross entered the camp and used our freedom because the guard did not interfere with us in its presence. But those guards often punished us after the Red Cross' departure, such as denying us smoking or making us sit for one hour in the same position as when they count us. At the end of September, the Red Cross supplied us with some recreational games, giving each tent a chess set and a checkers set, in addition to copies of the Bible and the Koran for reading.

#### Interrogation Camp and Social Studies

At Ansar, Israel began to conduct a series of daily interrogations with the prisoners. Every day, 5 or more prisoners were taken from each post. At times, the same person was summoned more than once. Often, the prisoner was thrown into the interrogation camp for nearly 5 days without being asked a single question, which is something that made the prisoner involved beg the troops to return him to the lesser of the two evils, namely his original camp because the interrogation camp was no more than a hole filled with stones and white soil. Whoever slept there had to sleep the night in the open without any covers and lying down on stones.

The interrogations at Ansar focused on the security and social aspects. The security aspect centered around the following issues: 1. Military operations inside the occupied Palestine. 2. Military operations emanating from Jordan as of the inception of the resistance. 3. Military operations within the border strip of South Lebanon. 4. Relationship with the mayors in the occupied Palestinian territories. 5. Operations taking place in Europe.

It is noticed from all these points that the popular uprising in the Bank and the Strip was one of the main reasons for the Israeli invasion. Ansar Camp was also transformed into a Zionist laboratory to conduct psychological and social studies on the prisoners. This represents the second aspect of the interrogations. For example, one of us would be summoned and he would stay for almost 5 hours before the interrogator.

At the end of August, the Israelis addressed nearly 200 questions to the prisoners to be answered in writing. Here are some of the questions:

1. Are you in love?
2. Have you enrolled in the membership of a club?
3. What kind of drinks do you like?
4. Does your father beat your mother?
5. What are your hobbies?
6. Where were you during the air force strikes?
7. Have you traveled abroad?
8. Have you joined a union?
9. At what school did you study?
10. Is it a Christian or a Muslim school?
11. Do you like to

coexist with the Christians? 12. Where do you go upon finishing work? 13. What is your opinion of revenge? 14. Do you like to breed animals? 15. Do you interfere in family disputes? 16. What kind of movies do you watch? 17. Do you like the circus? 18. What is your opinion of Islam? 19. What is your opinion of nationalism? 20. What is your opinion of communism? 21. What is your opinion of Egypt? 22. What is your opinion of Iraq? 23. Is the Liberation Organization courageous or cowardly? 24. Is the Israeli defense army strong or weak? 25. Is the Soviet Union loyal or not? 26. Do you object to the business owner? 27. Do you cling to traditions? 28. Do you like anarchy? 29. If you enter a dark room, what do you do? 30. Do you like bullfighting?

These are examples of the questions asked at the detention camp and seeking to study the Arab citizen's mentality, his social makeup and the degree of his scientific and cultural development. Besides, these questions expose the falsehood of the Zionist entity's allegations that the reason for the arrest operations is the relationship with the resistance and the National Movement. The pattern and content of the questions demonstrates that Israel has other goals that go beyond the Palestinian resistance's presence in Lebanon--questions not pertaining to military operations--and that affect our personal life and our cultural, religious, artistic and athletic tendencies.

#### "Modern" Medical Care

The worst that the prisoners suffer is the Zionists' refusal to treat the sick. The camps contained many wounded and disabled prisoners and prisoners with chronic ailments. Whenever we talked to the post commander about one of the sick, he would say: "Let him die." At the nuns' school, one of the prisoners screamed because of the severity of his pain. The guard came and asked him where he was hurting and the prisoner said: In my side. The guard's response was to kick him in the same spot. The prisoner spit up blood and in moments, he fell on the ground dead because his ulcer had been ruptured. The ulcer of a prisoner from Al [family] al-Rida who live in the village of al-Qulaylah was also ruptured because of severe torture. When they delivered his body to his family, they told the family that the ulcer was ruptured while he was under surgery at the hospital. An Israeli soldier pulled out the teeth of citizen Khalid from 'Ayn al-Hulwah with a pair of pincers. Another soldier hit (A.S.) from Tyre and his eardrum, for which he had undergone surgery no more than 3 months earlier, was ruptured. Dr Muhammad from the Red Crescent experienced pain from a [kidney] stone and they took him to prison to punish him for requesting treatment. Diseases spread because of malnutrition and brutal torture and many sick prisoners died because the enemy troops refused them treatment.

At the detention camp, there are only 5 Valium pills for every 500 persons. One of the physicians detained at the post enumerated the spreading diseases, saying: Asthma, [dislocated] discs, ulcers, rheumatism, hemorrhoids, heart diseases, diarrhea, eye diseases, influenza and tooth diseases.

The physician added: "Should the post command have compassion and treat one of the patients, it puts him on a stretcher under the sun with an I.V. stuck

to his arm. If the patient is close to death, he is taken to a hospital consisting of a tent."

When complaint spread among the prisoners because of the lack of medical care, a physician came to the camp to examine us. Within 1-1/2 hours, he examined 500 prisoners. We passed in front of him and at times he did not hear what we said about the sickness we were suffering from. One of the prisoners developed a mysterious disease and could no longer eat, walk or even talk. When we appealed to the officer to take him for treatment, which was on a Saturday, he refused on the pretext that Saturday is a holiday and that they do not do any work on this day. After we threatened to go on a hunger strike, the Zionists responded and treated the man. In one of the camps, one of the prisoners went for 45 days without a bowel movement and almost died.

What provoked the strongest wrath at those terroristic actions was that the detention camp command resorted to gathering the sick in all the camps to take them to Israel, which is something that brought joy to our hearts. But on the following day, the sick returned with tears flowing from their eyes. One of the returning patients explained to us what had happened: "They blindfolded us and tied our hands. They tied the rope tightly around the wound of one of the wounded. All along the road, they hit us with thick sticks. When we arrived, they tied the patients with chains and we spent the night on the ground without food or covers."

This is what they did to the patients that had been taken for treatment. When they came on the following day and called the names of some patients, those people refused to go, saying: We are not sick.

The ugliest case we heard about was the enemy's refusal to treat a wounded man who had developed paralysis. When this man awakened on the following day, he found his hand denuded of flesh because ants had eaten the flesh on the night before.

#### Press Interviews

To mislead the public opinion, they brought us some correspondents of the foreign news agencies tied to them to convey to the world public opinion how well they treat the prisoners. Once, the officer came and asked for 5 persons to give interviews for the U.S. and Israeli television, telling them that the content of the interview would be insults against the resistance, the Syrians and the Arabs and allegations that the fedayeen and Syrians were raping women in Lebanon, in addition, of course, to praise for the State of Israel for its good treatment of the prisoners. The officer told the 5 men that whoever didn't say this would be tortured. They recorded the interviews in front of the troops and the interviews were then sent to the papers or television. Most of the interviews were imposed on us by force.

On the 7th of last July, the Swedish television came to photograph the prisoners inside the post but we refused to enter it, not because we don't want to convey our issue to the world public opinion but because 2 days earlier, the

French Human Rights Committee had come and the Israelis refused to permit it to interview the prisoners and find out their problems. This motivated us to refuse to meet the French television mission.

#### Interview With Israeli Journalist

Journalist: We want you to tell us frankly about the nature of the treatment at the post.

I said: The treatment is very bad. We are in a prison here and we do not expect anything better.

Journalist: Is the food good?

I said: We are not animals and we are not concerned with whether the food is good or bad. We have one demand, namely to go to our families.

Journalist: But you are a Fatah saboteur.

I said: Who told you that I am a Fatah member. I fled the shelling in Beirut and was arrested with tens of the members of my village.

Journalist: How do you spend your time? Do you engage in sports?

I said: This is forbidden. We are forbidden from moving. Our time is divided between eating, sleeping and playing tag, like small children.

Journalist: How is the sanitation?

I said: No soap and no water.

Journalist: But what is this laundry on that rope?

I said: Because you were coming, they gave us soap today and tied a clothes-line to hang the dirty laundry.

Journalist: We want you to tell us about the treatment.

I said: We here want freedom. We have with us in the detention camp sick people, demented people and people whose arms and legs have been amputated.

The officer immediately grabbed the film from the journalist and tore it because our statements did not contain praise for Israel.

#### Live Interviews

When Israel arrested thousands of the sons of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, it justified its action by saying that the detainees were "saboteurs" who belonged to the "terrorist" organizations. Israel claimed that it captured those people in the battlefield while carrying RPG's and automatic



rifles. But the truth is quite the opposite. It is true that there are fighters and partisans among the detainees but they do not exceed 10 percent of the total number. The rest are unarmed citizens who were kidnapped from their towns and refugee camps. Israel even brought some while they were still in their pajamas. Moreover, there are among the detainees scores of demented, retarded and old people, children and clergymen (Ahmad Shawqi al-Amin). This exposes the enemy's lie that the detainees are members of the Palestinian resistance. Was Sami al-Khatib's father, who is 78 years old, carrying a sub-machinegun? The people with amputated arms and legs, can they fight the Israeli "defense army?" How about the blind, the insane and some children who are not more than 9 years old?

Israel made its arrests indiscriminately and without differentiating between one citizen and another, between organization member and non-member or between those who stood neutral and those who supported and defended. This is why the entire south turned into a detention camp. I will present here some living testimony I have gathered from the center of the detention camp. This testimony exposes the Zionist aggression and its boundless hostility to man. It also exposes the methods of brutal torture used against children and old men. The testimony also demonstrates the false accusations made against the citizens for no reason other than the fact that this man's profession is this or that man is a big man or dark colored. Truly, I am not exaggerating here.

Some prisoners were accused of being fighters because they are big, and at times because of their color. Moreover, entire families were arrested and driven to the detention camps, such as Al Ka'wash and Al Shalhub (Q.A.), and you could see 7 brothers, with their father, their relatives and their friends, at the detention camp.

Citizen (A.'A.) from the south: I was hit with a club on my genitals and I am still urinating blood.

Citizen (M.A.) from the south: The reason I was arrested is that I refused to report one of my village's inhabitants as an organization member. The truth is that I don't know a thing about him. This is why I was arrested and stayed under detention for 3 months.

Citizen (A.'A.) from Beirut: During the shelling, I, my wife and my 5 children fled to the south. As soon as I arrived in Sidon, an Israeli roadblock stopped and arrested me, leaving my wife and children inside the car and in the middle of the road. I have been here for 3-1/2 months and the Israeli army has not yet interrogated me or made any charges against me.

Citizen (A.S.) from Khaldah, 45 years old: I went to buy a candle because of the power outage and was arrested. My mother is sick and alone in the house and I don't know what has become of her. I have been beaten painfully and no charge has been made against me.

Citizen (Kh.S.), a 30-year old tailor: I fled Beirut to the home of a relative in the south. On the way, I was taken out of the car and accused of being a tailor for Fatah.

Citizen (N.H.) from the south: I went to buy provisions for my family. I was arrested on the way. My 9 children don't have a single piaster because all the money is with me.

Citizen (H.A.) from the south: I was tending the sheep when I was arrested. My sheep were left untended. No charge has been made against me.

Citizen (K.M.), a Syrian agricultural worker in the wouth was beaten until he lost his memory. (He has tried to commit suicide twice and he is now insane).

('A.M.): I am 35 years old. I am a shepherd. I was arrested with my 9-year old son and they have accused me of acting as a guide for the fedayeen. I was hit so hard with a shovel handle that I started to urinate blood. They took my son away and told me that he was at the hospital. (His son died under torture. This happened in the early stages when Ansar Camp was being set up).

Citizen (A.Kh.), a 55-year old agricultural worker: I have 9 children. I was arrested with the [refugee] camp inhabitants and no charge has been made against me.

Citizen (M.'A.) from al-Bass, 40 years old: My wife and my 5 children were killed at the hospital. Despite my difficult situation, they would not release me.

Citizen ('A.S.), an engineer from al-Shuf who had returned recently from the United States: They have accused me of building reinforced (gun emplacements) for the resistance. I have been beaten because I don't know a Palestinian company owner they asked me about. They asked me about the man and the organization he belongs to and when I told them I didn't know, they asked me what organization the man's wife belonged to.

Citizen (Y.H.), a 50-year old farmer from Sidon: I have been arrested with my 15-year old son. I don't know why they have brought us here. I have never been interrogated.

Citizen (R.'A.), 16 years old: I was yanked out of my bed at night after the Zionists had broken down the door. No charge has been made against me.

Citizen (Kh.F.), a 64-year old agricultural worker: I have poor eyesight. I was arrested in the field while working with a shovel. They tied and beat my 9-year old son until he fainted while screaming: Daddy, Daddy. Here I am sick at the detention camp. They have no compassion for my condition (two young men had to help this man go to the toilet because he could not walk on his own).

Citizen ('A.F.), a shoemaker from Burj al-Shamali: I was arrested on the Tyre road while going to see the doctor. I am the only member of my family to escape the air force bombing unharmed. No charge has been made against me.



Citizen (M.F.), a male nurse from Tulin in the south: Haddad's group arrested me and I was kept for 4 days without food in a Volkswagen car, sleeping and defecating in the car and with my eyes blindfolded. While being interrogated in Tibnin, the interrogator asked me about al-Mukhtarrah village, located across Tibnin. When I corrected him, telling him that the village is al-Manarah, not al-Mukhtarrah, he accused me of being a lieutenant in Fatah and that I had acted as the fedayeen guide when they carried out their armed operations inside the occupied territories.

(S.Sh.), a 30-year old citizen from al-Wasitah camp: I was arrested and beaten severely. When I told the interrogator that I did not belong to any organization, he said: Haven't you ever expressed your opinion? I said: Yes. He answered: Then you are a "saboteur."

Citizen ('A.N.) is a 57-year old vegetable vendor from Sidon: The charge against me is that I read the resistance magazines and gave them contributions.

(J.F.) is a 48-year old citizen from the south: I have been working as a porter for 30 years. They took me from the field while transporting wheat on camelback. My [work] season has been destroyed and no charge has been made against me.

Citizen (F.'A.) from the south, 40 years old: I was returning from Saudi Arabia and was arrested on the way.

Citizen (F.'A.) from al-Biqa', a teacher: The charge made against me is that I omitted the word "Israel" from the "globe" found in the school and replaced it by the word "Palestine."

Citizen (H.'A.), a 33-year old agricultural worker: The charge made against me is that I am a lieutenant in Fatah. They kept me in a sack for 16 days. When my interrogation started, the interrogator put his foot on my shoulder and lit a cigarette. He began to ask me about the operations I had carried out in the occupied territories. When I denied, they put a stick up my (...) for punishment.

Citizen (K.F.), 43 years old from 'Ayn al-Hulwah: When they put us in the ditch, I almost perished of thirst. I called the guard and told him I wanted a drink. He urinated in my mouth, saying: Drink.

Citizen (S.'A.), a gendarme from Zahlah: Even though I told them that I was a gendarme, I was arrested like the others.

Citizen (A.Th.) from the south: I was hanged like a sheep ready to be slaughtered at Safa Factory. I was kept under the sun for 12 hours and my leg has been broken from severe beating.

Citizen (S.K.): I fled the village with my 8 children because some agents had threatened to liquidate me. We slept under trees for 12 days until Israel found us. My children do not have a single piaster. The charge made against me is that I am committed to the National Movement. I have admitted this to them.

Citizen (S.S.), 57 years old from Sidon: In the bus, the guard rode on my shoulders and demanded that I mimic dogs and other animals.

Citizen (M.M.), a 20-year old member of the Khaldah nomadic tribe and a retarded man, was asked by the interrogator: Where were you born?

He answered: Under the bridge!

Question: Where do you live?

Answer: Above the bridge.

Question: How old are you?

Answer: 17.

Question: What year were you born?

Answer: 1985.

It is worth noting that this individual is accused of being a Fatah lieutenant.

Citizen (D.T.), a flour porter from 'Ayn al-Hulwah, is accused of being a lieutenant. He is illiterate and can hardly speak.

Citizen (N.Q.), 17 years old from the south: The charge is that I am a "saboteur." When I denied it, I was asked: Haven't you said hello to a fighter!

Citizen (T.N.), 56 years old from the south: The charge is that my son was martyred in the civil war!

Citizen (M.A.) from the south: I was arrested on 15 June with other prisoners in a trench. The officer said to us: We will not treat you as prisoners of war. The Geneva treaty does not apply to you because you are terrorists. We can do anything to you. We can even kill you.

Citizen Joseph al-Khuri from al-Biqa': I am a Phalangist and have a [Phalangist] identity card. Yet, I was beaten until blood poured from my mouth. I have been accused of being a member of the Fatah movement.

These are small samples of the testimony of the detainees that I am transmitting.

I was also able to meet some Egyptian brothers, nearly 400 of them. They had been tortured brutally and all their money had been taken away. One of them, called Hasanayn, was stripped naked and beaten with clubs on his genitals. Another man, called Ahmad, told me that Israeli soldiers attacked and wanted to rape the wife of his Turkish friend in the ditch while her husband was tied next to her.

Those Egyptians were a lesson to all the detainees. Despite all the petitions they made and despite their appeals to the Israeli authorities in the name of the Egyptian-Israeli peace and of the Camp David accords to release them, the Israelis told them: (S...) your mothers, al-Sadat's mother and Camp David.

One of the Egyptians, called (S.M.), told me that he considers his birthday the day he is released from detention camp.

What is worth noting here is that the Egyptian authorities sent to the camp an intelligence element to spy on the Egyptians in the detention camp.

The camp also contained numerous Yemenis. Despite the severe torture to which they had been subjected, they were proud of having fought next to the Palestinian revolution and the National Movement. The Yemenis, along with the Pakistanis, Bengalis and others, were subjected to severer beatings and torture than the others.

#### Dialogue Between Insane Man and Guard

One night, Hasan, an insane man, awakened and the guard screamed in his face: Go to sleep.

Insane man: I don't want to sleep.

Guard: Sleep, or else.

Insane man: They are all awake and laughing at you.

Guard: Sleep, you dog.

Insane man: You are the dog.

Guard: Sleep, you son of a ...

Insane man: My mother is the Holy Virgin and a more honorable woman than Golda Meir.

Guard: Sleep, you pimp and son of a pimp.

Insane man: My father is better than your Sharon and your boss, Begin.

The guard then began to shoot over the man's head to scare him and called the sergeant. The insane man was given 25 lashes, even though they knew he was insane.

#### Cubs

The detainees included tens of cubs ranging in age from 9-16 years. They were arrested in the camps and the Lebanese villages. Children as young as rose [blossoms] were tied in airless cells. (F.'A.), a child from al-Rashidiyah,

told me that another child had died of thirst and breathing problems. Two other children were martyred under torture at Ansar camp. A child from Al-Shamali died last June because they refused to treat him.

Some of those children spent 3 months sleeping on the ground and in an abysmal psychological state. Israeli's arrest and torture of children is perhaps the most horrible crime committed in the recent war. Child (F.O.) told me that the guard used to beat them with clubs on all parts of their bodies. Some were subjected to burning with electricity. Others were called for interrogation tens of times. When the interrogator was asked why the children were being interrogated so frequently, he said: These are the ones who pose the real danger to Israel.

In fact, the guards used to pass in front of the tents and gaze at the children's tent and one of the soldiers would call one child and ask him: "You, (...), do you know how to use a (Sven)? Why were you brought here?" The signs of anger appeared on the soldiers' yellow faces when they looked at the imprisoned children.

One of the methods of torture used on children was to put out cigarettes on their bodies. This is a sight which occurred before my eyes while we were returning from Israel to Lebanon. A soldier, called (Ofer), came and started to fondle the genitals of a 12-year old child with a stick, uttering such vile words as: Do you know how to (...)? The child cried and the soldier went on: You (...), you know how to shoot bullets, so how come you don't know how to (...)?

#### Getting News

The enemy tried to isolate us from the world inside the camp. There were no papers and no radio. The post guard used to plug in the radio earphones in their ears while listening to the news or to songs so that no voice may reach us. Yet, we learned of all the political developments in the country. At times, we even got news of the popular demonstrations and of our masses' resistance against the Zionist occupation. News traveled from camp to camp by flying letters. For example, we would write a message to camp No 10 on a cigarette box and in 5 minutes the message would reach camp No 19. This enraged the enemy and made him mobilize his forces to look for a piece of paper. When they couldn't find it, they would force us to sit down in the roll call position for one hour or more. The news sources were either the newly arriving detainees or some of the Israeli soldiers.

The soldiers displayed extreme cowardice in their behavior. The guard would not walk near the barbed wire and you could only see him walking at a distance of several meters from it. During the roll call, the guards would wear bullet-proof vests. At times, the guards would run as if we were going to pounce on them and devour them. Moreover, the camp command used to take away from us tin cans, [used] shaving blades and even used matchsticks, especially in the early stages of our detention.

## Psychological Warfare

The camp command launched a ferocious psychological warfare against the prisoners. The interrogator would come and tell the mukhtar: The Lebanese will be released. So write down their names and serial numbers. Once we were awakened at 0300 for roll call. The officer would also come at times and say: We will release you tomorrow, but gradually: First the civilians, then the mobilized forces [al-ta'bi'ah], then the militias and finally the fighters. This is why you should not tell lies during the interrogation. Or the officer [commander] would come and say: Tomorrow, we are going to release 200 prisoners. Tomorrow would come and nobody would be released. This put the prisoners in a poor psychological state. One night, they told us: Fold the blankets and get ready to leave. After hours of waiting, they said to us: Each one back to his place.

## Demand Movements

Our movements were not confined just to the demand for release. Upon realizing that the detention would be long, we thought of demanding that the food, sleeping, clothing and medical care conditions be improved. More than once, we staged hunger strikes in protest of the rotten and inedible food. There were rotten meat cans and there was boiled rice that even chickens would not eat. Upon protesting to the officer, he would scream in our faces: It is forbidden to object to the food. What annoyed the enemy most was our demand to have the conditions in the camp improved. At times, they refused to even listen to us. Yet, we did not give up. We often rebelled again and again, especially in connection with medical care. At times, we refused to sit in the roll call position and so they withheld water and cigarettes from us.

We once told the officer: We can stay in jail for tens of years and withstand all kinds of killing and torture because our arrest is an injustice. The officer immediately screamed: I want to go to my family. I am not a soldier, I am a coiffure.

It did actually seem that the guards and some of the officers were truly awaiting the hour of departure more anxiously than we did.

## Free Time

After nearly 2 months of detention, the detention camp command loosened its grip a little and we enjoyed relative freedom, moving from tent to tent, but not openly. We also began to teach the illiterate because out of nearly 500 prisoners, 90 were illiterate. This step was effective at the level of the post. Moreover, numerous students learned the art of carving and many stones in the camp turned into statues and works of art. Some carpenters at the post built a mosque and a church from wood and earth. The Zionist and foreign information media were taking daily footage of these (activities) to mislead world public opinion. We also planted beans and made playing cards out of bread cardboard boxes. In the evening, we would split into groups and sing folk songs, some of them love songs and some denouncing the Zionist and lauding the glories of al-Bass, Khaldah and 'Ayn al-Hulwah. Through all this, we were

able to kill the time because it does the prisoner no good at all to sit and think of his children all the time. This climate made many prisoners psychologically relaxed whereas some became disgusted and would tell us: "Why should you worry!"

#### Prisoners' Problems and Disputes

The detention camp is tantamount to a self-contained society. You find in it all nationalities: Syrians, Iraqis, Turks, Bengalis, Egyptians, Yemenis, Palestinians and Lebanese. This social makeup led to the emergence of some problems among the prisoners themselves, such as regional rancors. The disputes were not confined to verbal arguments but went beyond that to the use of fists and stones. At times, blood flowed as a result of the fights that erupted.

This incongruous social makeup may have been a reason. But the emergence in the camp of a group that tried to monopolize some material privileges was another important reason. This group would try to get an extra pack of cigarettes or food. We intervened to settle these disputes so that the enemy soldiers may not interfere and beat the violators. Ordinarily, the soldiers listened to nobody and any dispute between two people inevitably led to punishing the entire camp.

#### Beginning of Uprising

The conditions at Ansar Camp became unbearable. The storms began to blow, pulling out or tearing the tents. The launcry we washed, by name, was flying with the air over the barbed wire. The screens covering the toilets were blown away and you could see scores of naked people washing or relieving themselves. All this was happening before the eyes of the Red Cross which made no move to help us. The weather also turned cold in Ansar and influenza and colds spread and no medical treatment was available, not even a Panadol pill. On 22 September, we saw trucks loaded with winter tents and this evoked terror in our hearts because we had expected to be released before al-Adha Feast. Many suffered heart attacks. On the same night, the colonel commanding the camp came to tell us that the tents were a mere precaution and that our release may come before the winter! That night, we could not sleep because of the severe cold and extreme anxiety caused by the winter tents. Many thought that we would spend the winter in Ansar.

23 September: The sky is gray with clouds and the sun is wrapped by fog. All expect the rains to come because (Passover) was approaching.

25 September: A new group of detainees arrived at the camp, generating greater fear in our hearts, especially since some of the newcomers were children not exceeding 12 years of age. One of them was an orphan from al-Duwayr village. We began to think: How could we be released when a new batch of detainees arrives from the Lebanese camps and villages.

26 September: A fire started to burn in our souls. Till when are we going to remain silent while the colonel comes up with a new lie every day? This tragic



situation motivated us to consult on a collective movement. How could we not move when our mothers and sisters are demonstrating in the face of the occupation and staging sit-in strikes at the Red Cross centers? These movements helped raise our morale and motivated us to speed our steps for a movement that may intensify the pressure for our release. We took into consideration the following factors which would speed up our release:

- A. The women's demonstrations in Lebanon.
- B. The demonstrations within Israel for the release of the prisoners.
- C. The international pressure.
- D. The unbearable Israeli economic situation.

Moreover, there were no interrogations and nothing was being done with us.

These factors motivated us to move and consult with some camps to prepare for the move to be staged on the day of the feast. In fact, most of the camps sent their representatives to see the Israeli officers and demand release of the prisoners. The answer was: "Soon, God willing, every innocent person will go." These statements enraged us further and motivated us to move more actively because we could take no more.

#### Erecting Winter Tents

The statements the colonel had told us about the winter tents being a mere precaution turned out to be a flagrant lie. They brought the tents at night and gave them to us to erect. We did actually work throughout the night to set them up. This made us more certain that the camp was going to stay and that the occupation was going the winter in South Lebanon after having spent the summer there. This made our condition worse and urged us to speed up the preparations for some sort of action. Some camps notified and warned the Red Cross that something would happen on the day of [al-Adha] feast if we were not released and that the Red Cross would be responsible for what would happen. We contacted the other camps and one of the prisoners screamed: Where is dignity, where is the revolutionary feeling? We must do something. Our mothers and children have been massacred in Sabra and Shatila and we must move. One prisoner suggested burning the tents and setting the camp afire. We turned down the idea and proposed organized and escalatory forms of action. It was then agreed on several demands to be submitted in the name of the detainees to the occupation forces. These were the demands:

- A. Observe a day of mourning to denounce the Sabra and Shatila massacre.
- B. Bring in a daily newspaper so that we may know what is happening in the country.
- C. Actual improvement of the medical care.
- D. Release the sick and disabled people as a first step toward releasing all the prisoners.

It was agreed that the movement would be organized and free of chaos and off-handedness.

#### Al-Adha Feast Uprising

28 September: We awakened early. Rather, some of us could not sleep and had spent the night in a state of anxiety because our morale was very low on the eve of al-Adha Feast. In what state would a man be when he lives under all kinds of torture, denied the simplest rights, such as food, clean water or even medical care, and when he is subjected to the vilest insults and vilification? In what state would a man be when he has to spend the holiday far from his family?

In what condition would a family be when its sole supporter is severed from it? Abu Muhammad said to me: I wonder, will anybody buy my children new clothes. Then he began to weep.

In truth, some were weeping like children and some stopped eating or drinking. Despondency prevailed among all. When we awoke, the shouts of "God is great, God is great" began to be heard in all parts of the detention camp. Even though the soldiers tried to stop us, we continued to defy their rules. We held rallies and patriotic speeches were delivered in some camps.

We told each other: Steadfastness alone is capable of getting us out of this grave.

Around 1200, we suddenly heard screams. We rushed out [of our tents] in terror: What is happening outside? We climbed on the iron bars of the toilets and saw a women's demonstration, including young children and old men, heading for the camp and shouting: "God is great, death to the tyrants." The Zionist soldiers were trying to disperse it and prevent it from advancing.

At that moment, we erupted like a volcano. We overcame our hesitation and our enthusiasm soared. How could we not when our mothers and sisters had come to the detention camp to demand our release and to spend the holiday with us? The camps rose like a single man, with everybody shouting: "God is great, death to the tyrants." How expressive was the scene! Some fainted for joy. Others could not believe what was happening outside. The demonstration goes on and the women's shouting is rising. If we could, we would have flown into the sky to meet and embrace them. But the enemy soldiers were mobilized in large numbers and they attacked the women and the children, hurling tear-gas bombs at them. At that sight, we lost our minds and our shouts "death to the tyrants" grew louder.

The enemy aimed his rifles toward us--they are bullets shot in the air.

Look, they are no longer shot in the air. They are shot in the direction of the enemy.

Don't be afraid. Bullets do not scare. We are people who are not afraid to die for their dignity.

Look, there is my mother, there is my sister. That one is my brother. The uprising escalates. The handkerchiefs embrace the stones and the battle begins. The women's shouts get louder. Bullets are fired on them. We hurl stones, plates and spoons at them [enemy soldiers]. Some soldiers fell to the ground, others fled. The bullet fire is intensifying. A friend is hit in the hand while holding a stone to throw at the soldiers. Zuhayr, 'Ali and Muhammad fell.

Nearly 24 persons were wounded. Then the storm blew. We attacked the gates and tried to pull them out. Some of us tried to cut the barbed wire with their teeth. The ambulances warned us that they would not take any wounded if we didn't stop. Every one went back to his place. They wasted nearly half an hour before they took away the wounded. Some wounded even died as a result of the delay in treating them.

After this uprising, we felt that we had accomplished something equal to our release. We may have been wrong but this was our spontaneous feeling.

#### Freedom

After 4 months at the detention camp, I was released and felt like a man emerging from a grave. We climbed into the bus. They blindfolded us and tied our hands, but very gently and without tightening the ropes very much this time. They even apologized for this measure. Before the bus moved, the Red Cross representative climbed into it and asked us not to tell anything about what had happened to us at the camp. These are some of his words precisely: "Don't say that there was any shooting or that anybody died." Upon our arrival in Tyre, the military governor addressed us, saying: "Do not censure us. Justice has surfaced and it has become evident to the "defense army," though after a long time, that you are innocent." After the military governor's address, a hireling stood and spoke in the name of Nasir al-Khalil, saying: "In the name of Mr Nasir, I welcome you. Mr Nasir has not slept a moment out of concern for you. Congratulations. We must cooperate to build this homeland after it is liberated from the aliens." (The military governor was standing next to him.

We did not want to hear this prattle but decided to remain silent. We reached the village and it was a historic moment which made us forget the torture of the 4 months. We were given a popular reception in which the children and women participated. We were received like heroes returning from battle, with ululations, rice and cheers.

[No 134, January 1983, pp 70-80]

#### [Text] Social Makeup and Organizational Structure at Ansar Camp

When Israel arrested thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian people, its arrests touched not only the citizens from one social group but extended to touch all groups. Thus, in addition to their other causes, the arrests assumed the quality of an act of revenge against the southern citizens, all the southern

citizens with the exception of a few agents who could be counted on the fingers of one hand. When a man is arrested in the street, when his identity card is being "stamped," when he is kidnapped at night from his home because of a report from Zayd or 'Amr or when a certain camp is "wiped out" and its young men loaded into trucks and taken to Ansar Camp, then this means that all people are targets and are wanted by the Zionist enemy. The phrase "I am innocent and clean" which some people reiterate spontaneously and others reiterate purposefully is absolutely meaningless. It is as if all those who have been arrested are criminals and murderers. Once, a prisoner exhausted our patience with his statements about how "innocent and clean" he was and we screamed in his face: "We are all innocent. The criminals are the ones who have killed the children and the women and brought us here." What Israel claims regarding the needs to safeguard its security makes every person in the south subject to arrest at any time.

The arrests that have actually taken place include all the social groups, from landowners to parasitic groups in society. I will review here the social and professional makeup of some of the detainees, contenting myself with 3 tents in one of the posts:

Tent (1):

1. Kh. H., an agricultural worker.
2. M. M., a school student.
3. Ahmad 'A., an agricultural worker.
4. H. 'A., a cab driver.
5. N. H., an agricultural worker.
6. Muhammad, a school student.
7. Ahmad, an agricultural worker.
8. Mahmud T., a (sharecropper).
9. 'Afif, a middle-class landowner.
10. H. Kh., a teacher.
11. Ahmad S., a teacher.
12. H. H., a (sharecropper).
13. M. T., an agricultural worker.
14. M. 'A., a truck driver.
15. 'A. Q., an agricultural worker.
16. H. F., a barber.
17. 'A. A., an unemployed worker.
18. H. D., a cab driver.
19. Q. S., a high-school student.
20. Kh. T., a plasterer.
21. 'A. Q., a high-school student.
22. M. S., an upholsterer.

Tent (2):

1. Ahmad, a motorcycle mechanic.
2. Muhammad, a teacher.
3. Muhammad, a cab driver.

4. 'Asim S., an agricultural engineer.
5. 'Adil, a landlord.
6. Fahd, a porter.
7. Husayn, a gas station worker.
8. 'Atif, a construction worker.
9. Husayn, a teacher.
10. Khalil F., a tailor.
11. Muhsin, an employee with the Tobacco Control Agency.
12. Husayn Sallum, a gendarme.
13. Ahmad Q., a furniture carpenter.
14. Hasan, a blacksmith.
15. 'Ali, a shoemaker.
16. Fu'ad, the owner of a produce market.
17. As'ad, an unemployed worker.
18. Husayn 'A., a deaf man.
19. Fathi, a retarded man.

Tent (3):

1. Hatim, a court clerk.
2. 'A. D., a porter.
3. S. F., a merchant.
4. N. J., a lawyer.
5. Nasir, a doctor.
6. H. 'A., a porter.
7. Muhyi al-Din, a sailor.
8. Suhayl, a vegetable vendor.
9. H. F., a butcher.
10. Nayif, a refrigerator repairman.
11. Abu Khadr, a grocer.
12. F. S., the owner of a confectionary.
13. Yusuf, a farmer.
14. 'Abbas, a shepherd.
15. Hani, an agricultural worker.
16. Shihadah, an agricultural worker.
17. Mustafa S., an agricultural worker.
18. 'A. M., an employee of the water company.
19. 'Ali, a dealer of used car spareparts.
20. S. N., a plumber.
21. Husayn, a representative of (citrus fruit processing plants).
22. 'A. 'A., an agricultural worker.
23. K. F., a restaurant owner.
24. M. Q., an employee at Beirut Airport.
25. His Eminence Shaykh Shawqi al-Amin, a clergyman from Majdal Silm.

This social makeup of the prisoners reflects to a degree the social makeup of the inhabitants of the southern area and of its refugee camps, noting that the overwhelming majority of the workers belong to the toiling classes, especially agricultural workers, followed by middle-class groups engaged in free enterprise.

The prisoners' ages range from 10 to 80 years. The ages of the overwhelming majority range from 25-35 years.

Illiteracy is amazingly widespread. Out of a total of 500 prisoners, we were able to register the names of 150 persons who wanted to learn reading and writing.

Moreover, the detainees are followers of the Muslim faith. You rarely find any Christians, unless they are nationalists or have been arrested by mistake. We did not find any Druze in our post. Most of the Lebanese prisoners are members of the Shi'ite sect.

The political tableau in our post was as follows insofar as the Lebanese detainees are concerned:

1. Communists: Nearly 25 detainees.
2. Amal Movement: Nearly 10 detainees.
3. Ba'th Party, (Iraq): 5 detainees.
4. Action Party [communist]: 2 detainees.
5. Nationalist Party: One detainee.
6. Socialist Union: 2 detainees.

All the other detainees were non-partisans.

Regarding the members of the Socialist Progressive Party in the south, Israel released quickly all such members it had detained.

As for the Palestinians, Fatah had the lion's share of the detainees. What is more, the Zionists considered all of us, regardless of our affiliations, members of Fatah Movement.

Most of the prisoners are inhabitants of 'Ayn al-Hulwah and al-Rashidiyah refugee camps and of Sidon, keeping in mind that there isn't a single village in the south which doesn't have one or more of its inhabitants imprisoned at Ansar.

#### Internal Organization at Camp

The presence of thousands of prisoners motivated the Israeli officials to introduce a kind of organization with a special structure into our ranks with the aim of helping them regulate the conditions of the camps insofar as discipline, food and all other affairs pertaining to the prisoners within a post are concerned, including the issue of settling personal disputes. This "structure" performed the role of the occupation inside the detention camp, so much so that some people feared the post officials more than they feared the enemy soldiers.

Each post includes 400-500 prisoners over which a "mukhtar" is appointed to organize their affairs. Moreover, each post has a sergeant who follows the orders given him by the mukhtar.



## Mukhtar

In the early stage, the mukhtar was selected by the prisoners. But after experience, the Israeli detention camp administration selected the mukhtar and provided him with the post's rules and regulations. If he failed to carry them out, he was punished and replaced by another person.

The mukhtar's tasks were the following:

- A. Awaken the prisoners at 0600 to prepare for the roll call.
- B. Receive the supplies and supervise the distribution of the food and the kitchen management which he personally appointed.
- C. Receive all that pertains to the prisoners' affairs, such as messages and so forth.
- D. Escort and blindfold the prisoners wanted for interrogation.
- E. Watch the prisoners and hand over those who get into fights to the post guards.
- F. Keep the post clean.
- G. Convey the prisoners' protests (should any of them dare protest), to the Zionist officer.

To put it briefly, the "mukhtar" is an acting Zionist officer. I say this without any exaggeration and without meaning that all the mukhtars are the same. All the prisoners experienced the mukhtars' actions and heard their vile insults against their fellow prisoners. In the later period, the Israelis resorted to a shrewd plan, telling the mukhtar: We will not intervene in your affairs as long as you are disciplined. Thus, they gave the mukhtar the power to punish and beat the prisoners and supplied him with a whip for the purpose. In fact, some mukhtars did resort to beatings, as if they were occupation soldiers. What is more, the mukhtar resorted at times to withholding the cigarette supply or to stopping the distribution of tea and food. In short, we had a great fear of the mukhtar because the post guards, regardless of how smart, could not keep us under complete control whereas the post mukhtar, depending on a "clique" similar to him, was able to perform the task. Moreover, the Israeli officer would dismiss the mukhtar if it became evident to him that this mukhtar was not cruel or sharp-tongued.

This poor treatment of the prisoners on the part of the mukhtars provoked immense sensitivity among the prisoners. In camp No 4, the prisoners attacked and beat their mukhtar because of his ill actions. In another camp, the prisoners staged a strike in protest of the mukhtar's domination and his favoritism in distributing the food. To be beaten by the Israeli soldiers is understandable but to be beaten by a prisoner like you or to see such a prisoner enjoying the best food, clothes, cigarettes, drugs and pencils while you are denied the simplest things is unbearable.

Thus, the Israelis were able to split the prisoners' unity and to create a rift among them, employing the ill-reputed slogan: "Divide and rule." Once, a prisoner was subjected to brutal torture because he had objected to the mukhtar's orders. After being beaten, he was forced to run for nearly 2 hours inside the post, shouting: "I will heed the mukhtar." The mukhtar's powers are absolute and if he tries to take revenge on somebody, the Israelis respond to him immediately and fulfill his wishes. This is why we once told our post mukhtar: "We want to get out of the detention camp, not to get rid of Israel only but primarily to get rid of dirty individuals like you."

#### Sergeant

The sergeant is often appointed by the mukhtar and he may be replaced at any moment, depending on his personality and his ability to control the situation in the tent. Some of the sergeants resorted to insults whereas others had humane qualities.

The sergeant's tasks are the following:

1. Collect food from the kitchen and distribute it to the prisoners.
2. Acquaint the tent with the post rules.
3. Regulate the exit of the prisoners to the toilets and bathrooms.

To put it briefly, the sergeant carries out the mukhtar's instructions and helps him control the situation in the post. The mukhtar used to hold special meetings for the "sergeants" to deal with the post's conditions. He also used to favor one sergeant to another to further deepen the differences between the prisoners. For example, he would give one sergeant one pack of cigarettes and another only half a pack or he would supply one tent with a certain quantity of tea and another tent with a smaller quantity. The mukhtar also appointed a doctor from among the prisoners for each post to supervise the prisoners' health conditions. The doctor was the one who received the Valium and Panadol and submitted the reports on the detainees' conditions to the Israeli doctor. At the outset of the detention, the doctor would move from tent to tent, asking if there were sick people. In the middle of September, one tent was vacated and turned into a clinic containing a stretcher, ear drops, eye drops and some sedatives. A general meeting was also held for the detention camp "doctors" to improve the health care. But the meeting was a mere sedative step because we felt no actual improvement in the conditions of the sick. What is worth noting is that "some doctors" were complaining of their task because it meant prolonging their imprisonment until all the other prisoners are released.

#### Kitchen Management

The mukhtar appointed the kitchen hands from among the prisoners. They were often people close to him--either people from his village or ones he had known previously. Some of those people didn't know the art of cooking but the

mukhtar's will made them cooks. Despite the objections to this method, the answer was: "We cannot try 500 prisoners to find out the skilled cooks."

The kitchen hands clean the pots, cook the food, distribute tea and carrots, most of which are rotten and inedible.

In the morning, the kitchen management, the mukhtar and the doctor would get together in the camp and eat their breakfast as if they were in their homes. This was repeated at noon and in the evening. Some of them even gained weight because of the large quantity of food they ate. Moreover, the mukhtar appointed a sergeant for the water to avoid the chaos erupting during the rush for washing. The kitchen management is a distinguished group that monopolized some privileges for itself. The lucky man was the one who befriended the kitchen hands because through this friendship, he could get an onion, a spoonful of        or some oil to pour on the boiled potato.

The mukhtar, the sergeant, the doctor, the kitchen management and some people close to them represented the "ruling authority" in the post and woe be to whom-ever disobeyed their orders, had to make his account to the soldiers. The mukhtar would call a guard and report one of the prisoners and the prisoner would be kicked or be taken to the X-room [sic] where he would be made to walk on nails and [broken] glass.

This distinguishing status of this "clique" was at times confronted with an active movement on the part of the prisoners. We once formed a committee to watch what was coming into the kitchen, especially the cigarettes whose distribution this clique manipulated. In some camps, revolutionary committees were formed and engaged in some sort of self-management of the posts. The committee would even handle the disputes erupting between the prisoners without referring to the Israelis. These committees curtailed the powers of the mukhtar and of the sergeant. But some posts obstructed the formation of such committees. In our post, the mukhtar told me: "If God descends to earth, I will prevent the formation of a control committee." This, naturally, was because the committee would wipe out the privileges he gets. The Israelis disbanded these committees recently and transferred all their advocates to other camps in order to strengthen the authority of the mukhtars and to obstruct any democratic action in the camps.

There is a point that must be explained here, namely that all the press interviews are conducted with the post mukhtar. What is more, one of the mukhtars has told the U.S. television: "I, like 500 other prisoners, do not recognize the resistance leadership and want peace with Israel." To be honest, we must admit that another mukhtar refused to make such statements. His punishment was 10 blows with a club on his back.

The detention camp command also held periodic meetings for all the mukhtars to notify them of the news of prisoners release and to tell them that the "disciplined and orderly prisoner will go" and that the prisoner "who doesn't lie to the interrogator and does not give conflicting information will be released." The Israelis also supplied the mukhtars with some political news, especially

news pertaining to the blockade of Beirut and the departure of the resistance. After the resistance's departure, Colonel Danny held a general meeting for the mukhtars and told them that the resistance departure from Beirut "will have a positive impact on the prisoners' conditions." At times, some Knesset members would come and meet with some of the mukhtars to tell them that the release was "very imminent."

#### Guard Tent

In every post containing a certain number of prisoners, there is a tent behind the barbed wire for the soldiers who guard the post and supervise its security and who, at times, interrogate some wanted people if it is impossible for these people to go to the interrogation camp. At the post gate, a guard is stationed all day long, with his submachinegun aimed at the prisoners. Another guard is stationed next to the gas cylinder and goes around the post to watch the prisoners' movements in order to catch some of them unawares, make them stand in the sun or raise their hands for hours in front of the gate. If the mukhtar wants something, he asks for the captain in charge who comes and discusses matters with the mukhtar.

During the distribution of food to the posts or taking food wastes out of them, the guards, numbering 7 in all, are put on the alert and fully armed for fear of a movement on the part of the prisoners. Even when a patient exits from the post, the guards are alerted for fear one of them may be kidnapped and become a hostage in our hands.

At night, the number of the guards is increased and they watch the prisoners to find out if they have slept or not. Moreover, vehicles go around all the posts at tremendous speed, leaving behind a thick dust that blinds the eye, with their search lights turned on the sleeping prisoners all night long, making it almost impossible for us to be able to sleep because of the loud noise of the engines. Moreover, the detention camp command conducts at times night exercises, firing flares into the night. The camp guards, numbering in the hundreds, are put on the alert, vehicle engines are turned on at insane speeds and alarms are sounded for fear that one of the prisoners may escape and to find out whether the guards can capture him or not. There is in the camp a truck which we have nicknamed the hearse because it is used to transport those wanted by the interrogation camp or those taken to prisons inside Israel.

Every post is surrounded by 2 watchtowers. At times, the colonel would come and discuss the prisoners' affairs with the mukhtar or he would summon the mukhtars at night to talk to them. The main task of the post guards is to make the roll call every morning. They wear their bullet-proof military uniforms, carry their thick clubs and enter the post to count us, keeping in mind that even if they opened the door none of us would escape, and we told them so one time. Upon their entry to the post, we put our hands on our heads, and woe be to whomever raises his head or moves his hands because the club descends on his head or his serial number is taken down and he is later summoned to be tortured. The roll call was our daily torture. Rather, it is one of the ugliest forms of torture from which we have suffered because you feel that all

parts of your body have gone rigid. When you put your hands over your bowed head and squat for an hour or more, you feel that death is a hair's breadth from you. The roll call was at times taken during breakfast. We would push away the tea cup and rush for the roll call because when the guard notifies the mukhtar that the roll call is to be made, we have to sit in our tents like angels and "without a movement or a breath," according to the mukhtar. When the soldiers depart from the post, we raise our heads a little. But the roll call rule remains in effect until the mukhtar shouts "at ease." We then feel as if we are reborn.

#### Masked Man

Most of the prisoners in Ansar consider collaborators with the Zionist enemy (the masked men) the reason for their arrest. Matters have reached the point where the words "masked man" are reiterated by the south's inhabitants and children and where all you hear is "the masked men are to blame" and the "masked man is the reason" and "how would Israel know the people." These popular words contain a large part of the truth because Israel, regardless of how capable its intelligence agencies are, is unable to acquire accurate information on those belonging to the resistance and the National Movement. Israel may know some but it couldn't know the members, the partisans, the militias, the financial figures, the weapon caches and so forth. Information had a main role in leading many Lebanese and Palestinian citizens to Ansar Camp. But this doesn't mean that Israel did not have the desire to arrest the southerners if these informers did not exist. This is totally untrue because the arrests have included nearly all people. Only children, old men and women remain in the refugee camps. In some Lebanese villages, all the youths have been taken to the detention camps. This proves that the masked man's role was superficial in some cases. What Israel wanted to achieve is to pit the people against each other. This is what the Israeli officers indicated when they told the southern mukhtars: "We have nothing to do with this. You are the ones who inform on each other." Such an officer knows that the "masked men" are the reason and that without them, nobody would have been arrested.

This Zionist approach led to numerous fistfights and clashes with sticks in more than one village where the inhabitants have exchanged accusations as to who is responsible for the arrests. At Safa Factory, for example, they paraded nearly 150 persons from "... village before a masked man. He pointed out 10 persons and accused them of being officers of the Popular Liberation Front, the General Command and of Amal Movement. While gathering people in the field, the Israelis would mislead the people into believing that the masked man was in one of the cars and that he would point out whoever did not confess. Often, this masked man was a figment of the imagination.

The masked man was a "scarecrow" used for intimidation. So the military governor can stand and say: "We know every one of you. Those who are organization members stand aside: The officers in one line and the militias in another." I don't mean to say here that the occupation agents have not had a role in this regard. What I have sought to demonstrate is that Israel has used the issue of the masked men to stick charges against the inhabitants of



the refugee camps and of the villages with the aim of touching off conflicts between them so that it may continue to control the situation in the area. There are numerous masked men who have made false testimony against the citizens to save themselves from torture. Some of them were threatened with being beaten if they did not agree to "wear the masks." Moreover, some of the prisoners received an offer to be released in return for informing on their village inhabitants. Other people tried to take revenge for wrongs committed against them previously under the presence of the resistance and of the National Movement.

There are agents, a minority, who had suspect connections prior to the Israeli invasion. Therefore, putting all the masked men in one basket and considering them agents is a big mistake. Many arrests took place without the help of "masked men" and the arrest campaigns were led by Israeli officers. This is what happened in the villages of al-Qalilah, Tayr Daba, Tulin and others. Israel has taken advantage of the contradictions of the Lebanese society, and of the southern society in particular: The family feuds, the sectarian conflicts, the political disagreements, the tribal disputes and even the personal problems. This reached such an extent that a citizen from Bint Jubayl who divorced his wife 5 years ago is now a resident in Ansar detention camp because his divorced wife has informed on him. Another man's brother was killed in a car accident and this man found his wish in the Israeli occupation to take revenge on the cause of the accident. Another man's uncle was killed by armed men from Amal Movement and when Israel came, he "wore his mask" and helped to have his village residents arrested. In the village of al-Zarrariyah, Abu Mashhur turned into an officer in Haddad's army because the resistance and the National Movement had burned his home during the 1976 events.

In Ansar Camp, nearly 40 masked men were put in one of the posts and we heard that fistfights erupted between them on the one hand and the prisoners on the other.

To put it briefly, Israel has used the issue of the masked men to shatter the unity of the southerners and to ignite family and tribal conflicts among them. Naturally, this does not refute the presence of some agents who have played a major role in facilitating the task of the occupation forces--agents who have been the real "masked men" in the enemy ranks.

In this regard, it must be pointed out that the main collaborators with Israel in the south have not needed a mask to conceal their true character, such as some members of Al al-Dayikh. These people used to go up to the villages in broad daylight to take away whomever they wanted in implementation of the occupation's orders. The responsibility falls first and foremost on the shoulders of the occupation forces. As for the "masked men," they are just cheap instruments that will come to end and whose role will vanish totally with the departure of the occupation forces. Even if it couldn't find informers and "masked men," Israel would still arrest and humiliate the southerners. Foreign occupation always means arrest, eviction, killing and annihilation.



## Objectives of Arrests

After this detailed review of the trip of torture and humiliation in the enemy detention camps and after we have demonstrated the nature of the social and administrative structure in Ansar detention camp, we will now present the goals behind the mass arrests made by Israel in South Lebanon since last June--arrests that were still touching some people at the time these lines were written.

What is the objective of these arrests?

What is the use of arresting children, retarded people and old men?

Why the prolonged detention of the prisoners despite the termination of the military battles?

To start with, it must be noted that the arrests included all the Palestinian camps and Lebanese villages and towns, even those hostile to the national presence. Moreover, the arrests reached all the social groups. The detention camp was tantamount to a self-contained social pyramid. We can even say that Ansar detention camp is an "international" society because nearly all countries of the world are represented in it: There are Lebanese, Palestinians, Syrians, Iraqis, Jordanians, Yemenis, Egyptians, Turks, Bengalis and Pakistanis. Israel would not spend millions of dollars to feed the prisoners, would not set aside large military forces to guard them and would not endure local and international political pressure if it didn't have important goals behind gathering the prisoners. Israel is not prepared to spend a single piaster if it doesn't yield a return.

What are these goals? In my opinion, these are the most significant among them:

First, avenge itself on the patriotic history of the south which has formed for long years a center supporting the resistance's struggle and has turned into a reservoir supplying all the leftist parties with human manpower. Thus, Israel has come to uproot the mission of the Lebanese national presence whose growth and development the successive Lebanese governments since the independence have failed to stem. The arrests have included all the Lebanese villages and the interrogations with the Lebanese youths have not been confined to the relationship with the resistance. The interrogators have been questioning the prisoners about their life stories from the time they were 6 years old to the moment of their arrest and whether they have been affiliated with clubs or unions. What is more, one citizen has been arrested because his son was martyred in the civil war.

Second, humiliate the southerners and re-tie them to the traditional leadership by demonstrating to them that the price of their sympathy for the national parties is arrest and torture. This explains the presence of hundreds of civilians in the detention camps. Some of these civilians are against the left and when they objected to their arrest, considering that they are not members of organizations, the Israeli reply was: "Why didn't you carry arms against them?"

Whoever has donated a single piaster to them or read one of their papers is considered a saboteur."

Third, revitalize the reactionary forces in the south, considering that after every arrest contacts become active and mediations begin for release of the prisoners. A southern leader told a delegation which visited him in order to pressure Israel to release their children: "What are you coming here for? Why did your children join the parties? Let them take their punishment. But my heart is better than yours and, for your sake, I want to help you. God willing, they will release your children." Moreover, Israel has brought many of its agents to prominence in this manner. The citizens are tied to these agents through the release of some of their children.

Fourth, the arrests contribute to motivating the feeble-hearted to collaborate with the occupation. In the camp, the officers were offering many of the prisoners the possibility of collaborating with them in return for large sums of money. The lot of whoever refused the offer was more beating and torture.

Fifth, the arrests have formed an instrument of blackmail in the hand of the occupation--an instrument with which to bargain with the inhabitants of the southern villages and to present to them the following equation: In return for releasing your children, we want to open armed centers in the villages and want volunteers for the Israeli intelligence.

Sixth, obtaining security information, especially from the Palestinians, on the military operations carried out across the Jordanian and Lebanese territories as of the onset of the resistance and on the relationship with the popular uprising inside the occupied homeland.

Seventh, find out how the Palestinian organizations are structured, the types of weapons they use, their methods of training and the countries where the training is carried out.

Eighth, try to find out the cells inside [the occupied territories]. Many of the 1967 Palestinian [refugees] were subjected to extra torture because the Israelis wanted to know their relatives through them so as to watch the steps and movements of these relatives.

Ninth, kill the spirit of struggle among the Palestinian youths by trying to make them believe that "the resistance has ended. Here is the leadership fleeing. So to save your life and the lives of your children, you must live with us peacefully within the self-rule framework." The Israelis would also bring the parents of some prisoners to the detention camp to convince the children of certain points.

Tenth, conduct psychological and social studies on the prisoners with the aim of understanding the nature of the Arab citizen and the level of his cultural and scientific development so as to formulate the right plans for fighting the Arabs and subjecting them to the imperialist strategy.

Eleventh, create the right security climate for the occupation forces. Israel imagines that incarcerating the men and the youths in Ansar detention camp will create stability for its forces that move in the south and will prevent launching fedayeen operations against them. In fact, Israeli security, or fear of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses, is one of the most important reasons for putting thousands of people in Ansar detention camp.

With its indiscriminate arrests, Israel has sought to uproot the national heritage of the southern masses and to transform the Palestinian refugee camps from centers of armed struggle into human gatherings whose primary concern is housing, psychological and material stability and moving away from the Liberation Organization. Israel has sought to do this through creating fake political frameworks that claim to be representing the Palestinian people.

But all these goals have failed. The morale of Ansar prisoners is very high. The enemy soldiers have been stoned more than once. Moreover, the situation in the south is turning gradually in the direction of developing firm national resistance against the occupation. The recent escalation in the fedayeen military operations against the invading forces is nothing but a reflection of this intensifying popular mood of anger and wrath against the occupation forces.

Despite the arrests and the brutal methods of torture in which the Israelis are innovative, the south, with all its villages and refugee camps, is a united voice against the occupation. Moreover, the Ansar detention camp through which Israel has sought to make people disavow the national struggle has turned into a factory producing strugglers and patriots.

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CSO: 4404/178

PRESS COMMENTS ON IRAN-IRAQ WAR

LD081142 Riyadh SPA in Arabic 0720 GMT 8 Feb 83

[Text] Riyadh, 8 Feb (SPA)--The Saudi papers comment editorially today on the recent Iranian offensive against Iraq, the situation in Lebanon and the forthcoming Palestinian meeting in Algeria.

In its editorial today, AR-RIYAD affirms that the Arabs and Muslims who are concerned over the Iraqi-Iranian war, are agreed that it constitutes a national loss for both sides. It affirms that only through a logical solution can the war end, for it is extremely difficult to end it with a victory for either side at the expense of the other as both have their own characteristics and strategies.

The paper affirms that losses could be far greater and more serious and other countries seeking military or economic gains in the region could become involved.

The Arab leaders at Fes, the paper affirms, agreed to support Iraq peacefully and militarily. This commitment makes it incumbent on every country with the right to Arab league membership to stand by Iraq.

The issue has moved from a dispute over borders to one that could involve the whole area in a war imposed by unacceptable claims based on historic ambitions nurtured in the minds of the instigators.

AR-RIYAD affirms that the Arab nation, which has been repulsing attacks since the crusades, is capable of standing fast whatever the consequences. This is because great nations cannot be perturbed by the loss of a small stage in their history.

Newspaper AL-YAWM writes editorially today that the Khomeyni regime has been resisting with obduracy all the world appeals and all good offices exerted to end the massacres resulting from Iran's war with Iraq and despite the daily deterioration of economic security and all other aspects of life in his country.

The paper affirms that the expansionist ambitions which the Iranian regime is trying to achieve cannot be accepted for any reason or by any logic.

It points out that what Khomeyni and his aides describe as exporting the revolution carries the stamp of plots run by foreign forces with a view to diverting the attention of the Arabs from their causes and from the plots being hatched against them by these foreign forces.

If it indeed has good intentions as it claims, the paper affirms, why does the Iranian regime not accept all these appeals and good offices by the various countries and organizations to stop the bloodshed which, in addition to claiming the lives of so many human beings, diverts attention from other serious issues which threaten the region from all sides.

The paper affirms that the ambitions of Khomeyni and his supporters will backfire against them and that the regimes they imagine they can change are not as feeble as they think but are capable of safeguarding their firm and truly Islamic foundations.

The newspaper AL-MADINAH claims, on its part, that other forces were involved in the Iranian offensive with a view to shattering the capabilities of the Arab region, dissipating them and exposing them to constant threats.

The paper calls on the Arab and Islamic world to put an end to the war and help to put out the fire of sedition. The paper affirms that right will triumph in the end when the wheel of sedition will crush those who started it: the abominable sectarians and ruffians.

CSO: 4400/211

FAHD COMMENTS ON PALESTINIAN COOPERATION, GULF COUNCIL

LD282230 Riyadh SPA in Arabic 2015 GMT 28 Feb 83

[Excerpt] Riyadh, 28 Feb (SPA)--The Council of Ministers held a meeting this evening under the chairmanship of His Majesty King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. His highness the minister of information, Dr Muhammad 'Abduh Yamani, told SPA after the meeting that the council began by discussing the steps that had been taken concerning the Palestinian question. His Majesty the King stressed the importance of conscious and responsible moves at this important stage. It is necessary to stand in one line with the Palestinian brothers, back their cause and help them retrieve their legitimate rights. It is necessary to bring about a just peace that will guarantee all rights and fair and equitable terms, including the right to self-determination and to set up their own independent state on their land and homeland. The recent conference in Algiers emphasized the unity of their ranks, their determination to recover their rights and their anxiety for a just and equitable peace.

His Majesty King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-Aziz said that the kingdom is committed to its past declared positions on the Palestinian question and to the Palestinian brothers under the leadership of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinians. His Majesty added: things today require responsible and conscious moves that exploit the possibilities, channels and positive aspects that have appeared and the just understanding of our cause today. We must also, he said, work to end the state of homelessness and abandonment experienced by our Palestinian people in camps at a time when the Zionist enemy is occupying their land and homeland without any legitimate reason.

His highness the minister of information said that afterwards the council discussed a comprehensive report on the subject of Gulf cooperation in various domains and the phases experienced so far in the field of cooperation in the framework of the Gulf Cooperation Council. His Majesty the King has expressed his happiness at what has been achieved in this important field; it is a basic step towards a more comprehensive and general Arab and Islamic cooperation.

His Majesty the King said: Close links between us have contributed to the achievement of all the positive things made possible by the ties of religion, blood, history, neighborliness and common interests. Furthermore, good faith, will and firm determination from all have helped in achieving this close cooperation, and these balanced and studied steps have come as a result of fruitful and constructive action. We will, God willing, see more results of this action which will be of great profit to future generations in the region and to Arab and Islamic common work.



SAUDI ARABIA

COMMENTS ON MOROCCAN-ALGERIAN MEETING

GF271538 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 27 Feb 83

[News analysis by 'Ali 'Abdallah al-Mani']

[Text] The extraordinary meeting which took place yesterday between King Hassan of Morocco and Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid in the village of (Aqid Lutfi), near the Moroccan border, is one of the important events which the Arab arena witnessed recently.

This meeting, which is the first of its kind between the Moroccan and Algerian leaders since the severance of relations between the two countries in 1976 due to a dispute over the Saharan issue, has been received with great satisfaction and attention by the Arab League and the OAU because the two countries are members in these two organizations. The tense Moroccan-Algerian relations had greatly weakened the OAU and rendered it less effective on the international level because it had failed for over 7 years to reach a settlement that would end the dispute between the two fraternal countries.

The meeting between the Moroccan monarch and the Algerian president was not a mere chance; rather, it was carefully and meticulously prepared for a few months ago, through contacts between Ahmed Bensouda and Ahmed Reda Guidira, advisers to the Moroccan royal cabinet, and Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, the Algerian foreign affairs minister. Although no official statement was issued by either of the two parties except what a Moroccan source said that during it means of restoring diplomatic relations were discussed, yet observers believe that this meeting will be a source of good not only for the two countries but for all the Arab countries, particularly since it was a result of sincere Arab efforts and attempts aimed at ending all minor differences among some fraternal countries in preparation for the unification of Arab ranks.

Words, efforts and energies are our strength to be employed in the service of the Arab and Islamic nation and averting threats being posed to its presence and entity from all sides. If the brothers respond to the good efforts and attempts being made by sincere Arab leaders, the next stage resulting from these efforts will be an arena other than Morocco and Algeria.

CSO: 4400/223

PNC RESOLUTIONS, REAGAN STATEMENTS DISCUSSED

PM280801 Jidda 'UKAZ in Arabic 23 Feb 83 p 7

[Article by political editor: "The Palestinian Decision and Absorbing the Changes"]

[Text] The Palestine National Council [PNC] has succeeded in confirming Palestinian unity. There may have been big differences and numerous trends, but Palestinian dialogue has contained these differences and contradictions and molded them into one united Palestinian voice.

It is clear that PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat has emerged from the PNC meetings with an olive branch to bring the world face to face with its responsibilities.

While approving the Arab peace plan, the PNC has not rejected President Reagan's plan outright. It has, therefore, successfully returned the ball to the U.S. court.

The results of the PNC discussions in fact reflect political maturity and the ability to absorb the changes and the continuous developments and to understand the current extremely delicate circumstances.

The PNC emphasized the need to escalate the Palestinian struggle in the occupied territory, but it left the door open to peace efforts by adhering to the Arab peace plan which guarantees the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, especially their right to self-determination and to an independent Palestinian state.

Whatever the PNC's decisions on Arab and international affairs, we believe that the most important thing is the Palestinian unity of decision which is the sound way to any effective Palestinian move because the unity and independence of decision are a vivid expression of the feelings of the Palestinian people whose cause it is.

In its resolutions the PNC has managed to manifest the Palestinian people's insistence on the PLO as their sole legitimate representative. This confirms the legitimacy of the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people which some circles have been trying to put in doubt.

There is no doubt that the moderation demonstrated by the PLO in its views and attitudes was the real motivating force behind the Palestinian decision to give the PLO a solid ground. The PNC has also proven that it is capable of adopting the right decision in service of the Palestinian cause with a great sense of responsibility and away from all influences and pressures from any source, realizing that the paramount objective is to serve the cause and interests of the Palestinian people.

We want to say here that the PNC resolutions reflect a genuine desire for a peace which stores the usurped rights. The PNC did not slam the door in the face of the Reagan plan. In his statements, President Reagan merely expressed willingness to guarantee what he called Israel's northern borders and to support the efforts of King Husayn of Jordan to join the peace negotiations with a Palestinian-Jordanian delegation--peace negotiations on the future of the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem--but he did not go so far as to encourage the Palestinian side to accept his initiative.

The situation might have been quite different if the U.S. President's statements included a guarantee that an independent Palestinian state would be set up, or a recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, or even a call for direct negotiations with the PLO.

In brief, the ball is now in the U.S. court and the United States must find a more effective and more positive way in favor of the Palestinian cause in order to turn the wheel of peace in the region.

CSO: 4400/223

RIYADH WELCOMES PNC 'IMPORTANT' RESOLUTIONS

LD232102 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 23 Feb 83

[Commentary by 'Ali 'Abdallah al-Mani]

[Text] Brothers: At the conclusion of its meetings last night in Algiers the Palestine National Council [PNC] adopted a number of important resolutions that will govern the progress of future Palestinian moves on both the political and military levels. One of the most outstanding resolutions is its adoption of the Arab peace plan, passed by the Arab Fes summit, as representing the minimum for any political move by the Arab states and which must be complemented by military action in order to correct the balance of power in favor of the struggle and of Arab and Palestinian rights.

Its reaffirmation of the need to consolidate national unity between the detachments of the Palestinian revolution in the framework of the PLO is also outstanding, and for action toward a commitment to unity in all bodies and at the level of collective leadership in the context of the political program adopted by the seventh PNC session. Most important was also the council's emphasis on (?further adherence to) the independence of Palestinian decision, and on preserving it and protecting it from any pressure aimed at compromising this independence, from whatever quarter it may come. The council also stressed the need to strengthen and escalate the armed struggle against the Zionist enemy.

At the level of Arab relations the council underlined that relations with the Arab states should be on the basis of commitment to the Palestinian cause, adherence to the inalienable legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, anxiety for the soleness of the PLO's representativeness, respect for Palestinian decisions and reaffirmation of the strengthening of Arab solidarity.

Concerning the organization's relations with Jordan, the PNC stressed that the relationship between the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples is a special and distinctive one, and that there is a need to develop it in the interests of the two fraternal peoples and of the Arab nation, and in the interest of the realization of the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights, particularly its right to return to its homeland, to self-determination and set up its own independent state. In this respect the council believes that

future relations between the PLO and Jordan should be on the basis of a confederation between two independent states.

After reviewing the most important resolutions reached by the National Council in the meetings of its 16th session we must remark here that the fact that the council's debates were sometimes marked by sharpness and a tense atmosphere confirms that the resolutions adopted were formulated in a democratic atmosphere devoid of emotion, anger of any kind of pressure and oneupmanship. All have expressed in complete freedom and absolute frankness their views on the issues on the council's agenda. For this reason the resolutions came as a compromise formula between the various trends that emerged during the debates that took a long time, within the council and the framework of the Palestinian leadership, in the presence of the secretaries of all the detachments of the Palestinian revolution.

Political observers believe that the political resolutions adopted by the PNC in its recent session are marked by flexibility and realism, and that this flexibility will give the PLO executive committee, represented by its chairman Mr Yasir 'Arafat, freedom of movement and maneuver. This will serve the cause of the Palestinian people and enable it to gain greater international support and interest as a political issue and not as a question of refugees.

CSO: 4400/211

DAILY ON REAGAN MEMO TO KING HASSAN II

PM231635 Riyadh AL-JAZIRAH in Arabic 16 Feb 83 pp 1, 30

[AL-JAZIRAH correspondent's dispatch from Rabat: "Reagan Sends Detailed Memorandum to King Hassan II"]

[Text] AL-JAZIRAH has learned that U.S. President Ronald Reagan has sent a detailed memorandum to King Hassan II in his capacity as chairman of the [Arab] seven-member committee. The memorandum contains the U.S. administration's answers to the enquiries submitted to the U.S. administration by the seven-member committee during its first round of talks.

The Moroccan monarch is believed to have conveyed these answers to the leaders of the states represented in the seven-member committee including PLO chairman Yasir 'Arafat.

AL-JAZIRAH has learned that the Palestinian leader will in turn convey the contents of this memorandum to the Palestine National Council [PNC] so that it may adopt a final decision on the matter.

Informed sources have affirmed to AL-JAZIRAH that the U.S. memorandum deals in broad terms with the Reagan initiative and U.S. willingness to exert pressure on Israel if the Arab states accept this initiative, with the stipulation that details and practical aspects would be discussed when King Husayn visits Washington.

The United States insists that the Jordanian monarch should be the qualified negotiator and that he should have PLO authorization and should enjoy the support of the Arab states.

The states represented in the seven-member committee will have to take a final decision on this matter when they hold their next meeting which is expected to precede the emergency Arab summit conference likely to be held within 2 months at the latest.

CSO: 4400/211



SAUDI ARABIA

RIYADH COMMENTATOR DENOUNCES RECENT IRANIAN OFFENSIVE

GF091500 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 9 Feb 83

[Text] Those who watched the Iranian prisoners of war as television stations carried shots of them must have noticed the large number of children who constituted the majority of these prisoners. This is one of the tragic pictures caused by Khomeyni's war which is about to enter its 30th month. The aggression that Iran launched against Iraq Sunday night is considered an addition to the series of crimes which Tehran rulers have continued to perpetrate since their assumption of power inspite of the losses and destruction inflicted on the Iranian peoples by these practices.

Each aggressive attempt by Iran results in heavy losses for the Iranian forces which lose tens of thousands killed or captured. This will eventually make Iran lose the most important and dearest resource ever to be possessed by any country.

The continuation of aggressive attempts by the Tehran regime against Iraq achieves nothing but the aspirations and hopes of the enemies of Iran and Iraq. The results of these attempts have proven that the greatest loser is the human being in Muslim Iran. Tehran rulers exploit the war to liquidate their political opponents. There has been increasing reports from Iran on torture and execution of those suspected. Amnesty International confirmed that hundreds of such cases were executed in Tehran and other Iranian towns.

Popular discontent has increased as a result of these attitudes. Austerity measures will eventually make the people topple these rulers who turned the lives of the Iranian peoples into an unbearable hell.

CSO: 4400/211

COMMENTS ON ISRAEL-LEBANON TALKS, U.S. STAND

LD252312 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Commentary by 'Husayn al-Askari]

[Text] President Reagan has warned Israel against insisting on the signing of a political agreement with Lebanon as a condition for the withdrawal of its forces from Lebanon. He said it is wrong to insist on this as time is not on Israel's side.

Eighteen rounds of U.S.-sponsored talks between Israel and Lebanon on the withdrawal of the invading Israeli troops, which started 2 months ago, have ended. And despite this time, the sides have failed to reach any significant results in relation to the main issue: Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. All that has been achieved until now is confined to procedural matters. The cause for the non-achievement of important results is Israel's linking the withdrawal to the signing of a political agreement with Lebanon [words indistinct]. This the Lebanese reject strongly because the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was not a reaction to a Lebanese action; Israel's invasion of Lebanon was an Israeli initiative, justified only by the aggressive inclination of the leaders of the Israeli entity who wanted to impose the Israeli choice not only on the Lebanese but also on the development of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In this case, Lebanon's strong stand and insistence on not giving in to the Israeli demands is logical and stems from Lebanon's adherence to the independence of its decision, and its organic link with its Arab cause [word indistinct].

When the United States felt that Israel had gone too far, to the extent that its behavior constituted a threat not only to the security and peace of the region of the conflict but also went beyond this to harm the peace and security of the international community [sentence as heard]. Therefore, the warning by the American President to Israel is a clear hint of the U.S. administration's dissatisfaction with the practices of Israel, about which President Reagan said that time is not on its side. Yet it remains true to say that unless the United States puts serious and effective pressure on Israel it is unlikely that the enemy will respond to American dissatisfaction--which will remain mere talk because of Israel's insistence on demanding the impossible in return for its withdrawal from Lebanon. The United States knows that Lebanon will not accept bargaining over its independence and sovereignty just to satisfy Israel's aggressive inclinations.

ISRAELI OBSTINACY IN NEGOTIATIONS VIEWED

GF241423 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 24 Feb 83

['News Analysis' by 'Ali 'Abdallah al-Mani']

[Text] The 18th round of the Lebanese-U.S.-Israeli negotiations of the withdrawal of Zionist occupation forces from Lebanon begins in the Lebanese town of Khaldah today. Those who are following these negotiations speculate that the Israeli stand in this round will be more obstinate and transigent than ever. They build their speculation on the recent statement made by Moshe Arens, the new enemy defense minister, in which he called on the Israeli negotiator to concentrate on reaching political agreements between the Lebanon and the Zionist entity. As for the Israeli forces' withdrawal from Lebanon, it is, as Arens believes, a minor issue which is not worthy of all this fuss that has been made to quote him. The new Israeli enemy defense minister added, as if he wants the Israeli negotiator in the tripartite negotiations to continue to procrastinate without heed to the criticism of the other two parties and others, that the Begin government is not in a hurry to respond to the U.S. calls by withdrawing its forces from Lebanon.

United States envoy Philip Habib is now in Lebanon to hold talks with senior Lebanese Government officials which will reportedly aim at pushing the negotiations forward. During the past 2 days he held a series of talks with officials in occupied Palestine. His last meeting there was with Yitzhaq Shamir, the enemy foreign affairs minister, who reiterated to the U.S. envoy that Israel is concerned with the withdrawal of its forces from Lebanon, but only after what he called Israel's political and security goals are achieved there. These goals can be summarized as: establishing normal relations with Lebanon; setting up Israeli espionage stations on Lebanese territory; opening the Lebanese market to fill it with the Zionist goods; opening Lebanese airspace to enemy warplanes to enable them to carry out their inspection missions and accepting the principle of entry of Israeli military and nonmilitary ships in Lebanese territorial waters. In a word, this means Lebanon is to be an Israeli colony.

Political analysts believe that this round and the subsequent rounds will be difficult for the Lebanese and U.S. sides. The other party in the negotiations, the Israeli side, has not budged one inch on its conditions and demands made

known in the first round of these negotiations. Besides, he has gotten used to disregarding the U.S. proposals to surmount the obstacles which he put in the way of these negotiations. The last of these proposals is that one made by U.S. President Ronald Reagan on the U.S. commitment to guarantee what he called Israel's northern border as soon as its forces are withdrawn from Lebanon. This proposal was totally rejected by the enemy, who claimed that what he called Israel's security is not safeguarded by foreign troops but by Israel's soldiers.

Anyhow, the enemy's rejection of President Reagan's proposal has given the U.S. administration two equally difficult options: it has either to surrender to Begin's obstinacy and let the tripartite negotiations proceed in their unknown way according to Begin's wishes--and this of course will not be in the interest of the United States because it will affect its position and reduce its role as a superpower able to establish peace in the Middle East--or it has to resort to pressure to stop Begin and other Zionist extremists. The crimes and violations being committed against the Lebanese and Palestinian people in Lebanon and the occupied Arab territories pose a threat not only to the region's security and peace, but also to that of the entire world.

CSO: 4400/223

SAUDI ARABIA

SAUDI PAPER EQUATES KHOMEYNI, ZIONIST DANGER

PM272143 Jidda 'UKAZ in Arabic 11 Feb 83 p 3

[Editorial: "One Arab Stand With Iraq Against Khomeyni"]

[Excerpts] Halting Khomeyni's expansionist tendency and eradicating it completely has now become an urgent Arab and Islamic responsibility in view of the fact that the threats of the Iranian regime's forces to Iraq are indeed a threat to all the Arab countries and therefore they are all duty bound to firmly resist these forces.

Since the Arab nation, including Iraq, gave the Iranian regime every possible opportunity to settle the conflict peacefully and this regime refused to respond, it becomes the holy duty of every Arab and Muslim to resist the Iranian plans that are aimed against all the Arab countries, particularly the Arab Gulf region because of its political, economic and military potential that supports Arab solidarity in the face of Zionist barbarism.

Consequently, Arab support for Iraq becomes a defense of the common Arab destiny and a stand against a danger that is threatening higher Arab interests, a danger that is no less challenging to the Arab and Islamic nation than the Zionist danger.

In fact, it can be said that Khomeyni's danger to the Arab nation is greater than the Zionist danger. This is because the Zionist danger is open and known to all the Arabs and Muslims while Khomeyni's danger is hiding behind Islam and wearing the cloak of shaykhs so as to fool the naive and spread the chaos of extremism in the Arab and Islamic world.

The Iranian regime's insistence on continuing the war with Iraq has certainly exposed the falsehoods of Khomeyni's allegations, uncovered his false Islamic pretences and exposed this plan's aim at harming our higher Arab and Islamic interests.

The Arab and Islamic awakening during the recent Iranian attack on Iraq and the insistence of the Arab countries that are committed to the higher interests of the Arab nation on supporting sisterly Iraq goes to show that we have reached the right road to putting an end to Khomeyni's expansionist and criminal dreams in the Arab and Islamic world.

The defeat of the Iranian regime is imminent and almost certain after the Arab nation has put all its capabilities into coordinating with Iraq in order to defeat the new Iranian attack and liquidate all the forces of this aggressive regime.

If the Arabs have put all their capabilities behind the effort to defeat the Iranian attack and put an end to the legend of the liar Khomeyni they must also double their efforts in order to enlighten the Arab masses regarding the facts of the Iranian regime and expose its internal failure, its deteriorating political and economic situation and its failure to export its ideologies to the Arab world.

Khomeyni's regime and Israel are two basic dangers facing the Arab nation against which we all must stand as one man in order to defeat them so as to preserve the integrity and cohesion of the Arab nation and perpetuate its solidarity. If there are some Arabs who are still unable to see through Khomeyni's schemes we tell them that the lies of Khomeyni and his regime have been exposed because of his insistence on weakening the Arab nation at a time when it most needed its strength and cohesiveness in order to repel the Zionist danger to it.

CSO: 4400/223



SAUDI ARABIA

PAPERS URGE ARAB-PALESTINIAN STAND TO REGAIN RIGHTS

LD232312 Riyadh SPA in English 1433 GMT 23 Feb 83

[From the press review]

[Text] Riyadh, Feb 23, SPA--The kingdom's full support for any unified Palestinian moves will give strong impetus to any Arab and Palestinian action aiming at recovering the usurped Palestinian and Arab rights, a Saudi newspaper said today.

Referring to Monday's cabinet meeting in which King Fahd stressed his country's political, economic and information backing to the Palestinian issue, the Jidda-based AL-BILAD said, "This support will help the Palestinian people, led by the PLO, to liberate their territory and establish their independent state on their own soil."

The paper urged a unified Palestinian stand (?for other) malicious design of international zionism against the Palestinian people."

On the same subject, the Jidda-based AL-MADINA urged a unified Arab and Palestinian stand to recover the usurped Arab rights and territory.

The paper stressed that any solution to the Palestine cause "should come at the hands of the Palestinian people."

CSO: 4400/211

RIYADH ON LEBANESE NEGOTIATIONS, REAGAN'S SECURITY GUARANTEE

LD232232 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 23 Feb 83

[News analysis by 'Ali 'Abdallah al-Man]

[Text] The 17th round of the Lebanese-American-Israeli negotiations concerning the withdrawal of the Zionist invasion forces from Lebanon ended yesterday in Nataniyah, in occupied Palestine, without any announcement of an agreement between the three parties on the issues on the agenda. The official spokesman of the Lebanese delegation to these negotiations, Dr Da'ud Sa'il said that some obstacles remain concerning what he described as the basic positions of the Lebanese and Israeli sides, and that the American side is still trying to bring the viewpoints of both sides closer together over the points at issue. He stressed that the Israeli side has raised two subjects in this round: one concerns the position taken by the Lebanese press to the negotiations and the other is the position of Syria to the withdrawal of its forces stationed in Lebanon.

The Lebanese side has stressed to the enemy delegation that the presence of Syrian forces in Lebanon does not represent any problem for the Lebanese government as Syria has several times affirmed to Lebanon that it will withdraw its forces from the Lebanese territories when the Zionist invasion forces complete their withdrawal from Lebanon. But the Israeli negotiator has persisted in raising this subject in every round of the negotiations in order to foil them, or at least to impede their progress.

As for the position of the Lebanese press and its criticism of the process of these negotiations, it seems that the enemy wants to stifle the freedom of conscience and expression in Lebanon and to compromise them just as it has compromised its sovereignty, independence and the dignity of the fraternal Lebanese people.

On the other hand, in a fresh attempt by the American administration to give impetus to these negotiations, U.S. President Ronald Reagan announced that his country will continue its efforts and endeavors to secure a comprehensive withdrawal of all the non-Lebanese forces from Lebanon as soon as possible so that the Lebanese government can extend its legitimate authority over all the Lebanese regions. President Reagan also said that his country is prepared

to take all the necessary measures to guarantee what he called the security of Israel's northern borders soon after the complete withdrawal of its forces from Lebanon.

However the Israeli enemy, who used what he called Israel's security as a justification to launch its repeated aggressions against the Arab states and as a fallacious pretext to build settlements in the occupied Arab lands, replied to the American President's announcement by saying, through its foreign minister, terrorist Yitzhaq Shamir, that Israel has no need for such a commitment from the United States or anyone else. Israel, it transpires from Shamir's words, wants to occupy what it wishes from the Arab countries, and to launch its aggression when it wants and against anyone it wants so long as reactions from both the victims and those who are backing it with money and weapons to the crimes and violations it commits remain confined to expressions of denunciation, condemnation and regret.

At any rate it is no surprise that the enemy should reject the American President's announcement on guaranteeing what he called the security of Israel's northern borders, an announcement coinciding with reports affirming that the Palestinian refugees in certain Lebanese areas are being subjected to large-scale terror campaigns by the Israeli enemy and its agents there, aimed at forcing them to emigrate from Lebanon. The enemy wants to bury the Palestinian cause forever by burying the Palestinian refugees just as it did when it buried them alive under the ruins of their camps in Sabra, Shatila and Ayn al-Hulwah in Lebanon.

CSO: 4400/211

JIDDA PAPER CRITICIZES U. S. OVER LEBANON

PM181551 Jidda 'UKAZ in Arabic 8 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by international affairs editor: "How Can We Commit Washington to Shouldering Its Responsibilities in the Region"]

[Text] U.S. President Ronald Reagan has declared that the ideal way to prevent the Israeli invasion forces in Lebanon from provoking the multinational forces is to ensure the withdrawal of all the foreign forces--Israeli, Syrian and Palestinian--from Lebanon.

What the U.S. President said is unquestionably true. This is what the Lebanese legitimate authority wants and what the Arabs generally want because it restores Lebanon's sovereignty over all Lebanese territory. As far as we know, the Syrian and Palestinian forces have agreed to withdraw from Lebanon provided the Israeli forces withdraw. The Syrian and Palestinian condition is obviously necessary because a withdrawal of their forces before the withdrawal of the Israeli forces would mean giving the Israelis a free hand in Lebanon, perpetuating the Israeli occupation of that country, enabling Israel to use it as a springboard for aggression against the neighboring Arab countries, especially Syria, and giving it the opportunity to persist in denying the Palestinians their legitimate rights in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Since the other forces have not refused to withdraw and have not laid down impossible and arbitrary conditions, the U.S. President's words must have been addressed to Israel. This, however, reveals that U.S. official statements are at variance with actions on the ground. At best there is a big gap between U.S. words and deeds. This contradiction or gap is due to the fact that the United States had publicly committed itself, and had given written and unwritten undertakings that it would ensure the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon, especially the Israeli invasion forces because the withdrawal of the Syrian and Palestinian forces is a Lebanese-Arab responsibility. This means that the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon is an Arab responsibility. So far, and after 13 fruitless sessions of Lebanese-Israeli negotiations with full U.S. participation, no progress has been made on the question of Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. On the contrary, the Israeli-Phalangist plots against Lebanon's national unity have increased and have even touched the multinational forces. Israel has

intentionally provoked the U.S. forces and attacked the French forces. These plots are linked to Israel's security demands which Israel wants to impose on Lebanon, and the pro-Israel Phalangist commander Fadi Afram's desire to conclude a peace treaty with Israel.

The daily plots in Lebanon are causing serious deterioration in the security situation but as far as we can see the United States is not making any serious effort to put an end to the bloody conditions in that fraternal country.

Here we ask: If President Reagan really means what he says, why doesn't he implement it, and, is it true that the United States cannot put pressure on Israel?

We say no, Washington can, if it wants, bring pressure to bear on Israel and get it to withdraw its forces from Lebanon, regardless of what is being said about the influence of the Jewish lobby in the United States and its impact on the U.S. presidential campaign which this time is expected to begin this coming summer.

The point is that Washington has so far not been inclined to exert pressure because it still has not been faced with a strong and unified Arab stand in support of the legitimate Arab demands pertaining to the Lebanese and Palestinian issues. There are still discordant Arab voices undermining Arab consensus and ability to put pressure on the United States and other big powers which play a role in political decisionmaking.

The discordant voices are not only coming from certain Arab states but also from some Lebanese sides and Palestinian factions.

For all these reasons Washington is taking its time in making a firm decision to put pressure on the government of terrorist Menahem Begin to withdraw its invasion forces from Lebanon and recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The United States is responsible for the faltering Lebanese-Israeli negotiations and for the lack of progress toward a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian question. On Lebanon, it has not played the role it had promised to play, and on the Palestinian question it is making unacceptable and illogical demands on the PLO. Foremost among them is the demand for a PLO recognition of Israel and Resolution 242.

However, acknowledging the full U.S. responsibility is one thing and committing it to shoulder its responsibilities is quite another. There is nothing new in underlining U.S. responsibility regarding Lebanon and the Palestine question, because this is a foregone conclusion and repetition is monotonous. Matters have reached a point where mere talk about U.S. responsibility and Israeli plots is futile. What is important is that the Arabs should unite their ranks and rise above their marginal differences, the Palestinian factions should adopt a unified stance to serve supreme Palestinian interests, and

official Lebanon should muzzle the internal groups which are agents of Israel. Only then would they be able to bring the United States and other big powers face to face with their responsibilities because we would then have the political power to press for this.

CSO: 4400/211



SAUDI ARABIA

RIYADH COMMENTS ON REAGAN'S CRITICISM OF ISRAEL

LD082339 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 8 Feb 83

[News and comment, prepared by Husayn al-Askari, presented by Ahmad Hariri]

[Text] For the first time U.S. President Reagan has accused Israel of deliberately delaying the withdrawal of its forces from Lebanon without justification. He also described the Israeli force as an occupation force.

This is the first public attack in which the U.S. President has directly criticized Israel for its procrastination in withdrawing from Lebanon and for putting obstacles in the way of the departure of its forces from Lebanese territory.

This statement by the U.S. President follows the 13th round of Lebanese-Israeli negotiations, under U.S. supervision, which ended yesterday without reaching any significant results. The statements reflect increased American exasperation at Israel's arrogance and intransigence.

President Reagan's attack has been described by observers as the first so far to contain strong words with regard to the Israeli presence in Lebanon, especially as the U.S. President described the delay in Israeli withdrawal as hindering the efforts being made to establish a comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

Such an attack directly implies the U.S. President's support for the cautious stand of the Arab states toward the United States' efforts to find lasting peace, because the Arab states have seen no sign of good intentions from Israel. Such words, if they are to go beyond the feeling of exasperation at Israeli practices to reach the adoption of a practical measure which will bring Israel face to face with the facts which it has so far ignored, can have an impact because the Israelis have tried and continue to try to provoke the U.S. element of the multinational force based in Lebanon. They deliberately want to prevent the U.S. approving a formula that will make Israel withdraw from Lebanon.

But there are still apprehensions at the fact that the U.S. criticism of Israel might remain within the friendly pressure which has so often given Israel a sense of assurance and has encouraged its vicious practices. So much so that the United States was about to lose control of the Israelis who imagined they could rebel against those who protect their presence and ensure their existence.

CSO: 4400/211

## BRIEFS

MALAYSIAN MINISTER--Malaysian Finance Minister Razaleigh Hamzah arrived in Jidda today on an official visit to Saudi Arabia to attend the sixth annual meeting of the board of governors of the Islamic Development Bank, which begins in Jidda on 1 March. The Malaysian finance minister was received by Ahmad Muhammad 'Ali, chairman of the Islamic Development Bank in Jidda, and the Malaysian ambassador to Saudi Arabia. During its 2-day meetings, the board of governors will discuss topics on its agenda which deal with drawing up the bank's future policy and the financing of projects in the bank's member countries. [Text] [GF241329 Jidda Domestic Service in Arabic 1000 GMT 24 Feb 83]

PNC RESOLUTIONS--In its editorial today under the headline "The Need for Arab Solidarity After Palestinian National Unity" 'UKAZ says: "The resolutions of the Palestine National Council confirm that the Palestinian leadership under Yasir 'Arafat has been equal to the great challenges facing the Palestinian question and the Arab causes such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Israeli occupation of Lebanon and the war which the Iranian regime is continuing to wage against fraternal Iraq. 'UKAZ says that the Palestinian resolutions are a natural prelude to Arab solidarity. The paper says that Palestinian national unity is the first serious basic lesson in the post-Beirut stage for the Palestinians. Referring to the resolutions which express national unity, proclaim the approval of the Arab peace plan by all the Palestinian factions and which do not represent an outright rejection of the Reagan plan 'UKAZ says: The Arab nation must understand the Palestinian resolutions and support their implementation. 'UKAZ emphasizes the importance of supporting Palestinian national unity which is the base of Arab unity, now that the Palestinian leadership have put an end to the possibility of polarization within the leadership and proposed that unified Arab action within the framework of the Arab peace plan should be an option in bringing about a just and comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian question. [Text] [GF240602 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 0415 GMT 24 Feb 83]

CSO: 4400/223

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

UNITED STATES PLOTS AGAINST LIBYA CRITICIZED

GF191600 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 19 Feb 83

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The cable of Brother 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the YSP Central Committee, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium and chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the 1 September Revolution has reflected the principled stance of the PDRY in support of the Libyan Jamahiriya in confronting the U.S. and military provocations and has also reflected the common and unified stance adopted by the two countries against U.S. plans and conspiracies against the Arab peoples.

The current dangerous U.S. attack against the Libyan Jamahiriya is not a new act but it is an escalation of a series of aggressive acts, conspiracies and plans against the Libyan Jamahiriya and its progressive regime since the eruption of the Libyan revolution.

The resort of the United States to escalate its aggressive acts against the Libyan Jamahiriya directly or indirectly is actually a part of its aggressive plans against the Libyan people, their revolution and their leadership which insistently refused to abandon its liberation policy. However, these attempts have been foiled by a number of progressive countries in the region and [words indistinct]. Among these measures are the establishment of the Arab steadfastness and confrontation front and the Aden political treaty which was signed by the PDRY, Libya and Ethiopia.

On this basis, it is not strange that the United States concentrates its aggressive plans against the Libyan Jamahiriya, the PDRY and Ethiopia so that it can escalate the tension in the region.

The relations between the PDRY and Libya within the framework of the Aden treaty and the Arab steadfastness and confrontation front and the common progressive stands of the two countries toward the Arab and international issues naturally oblige the PDRY to stand with all its capabilities alongside the struggle of the Libyan people against U.S. aggression and reaction and alongside their steadfastness in face of any aggression against them from such forces.

CSO: 4400/205

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

PDRY CHAIRMAN CABLES AL-QADHDHDAFI ON U.S. PROVOCATIONS

GF191530 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 19 Feb 83

[Text of solidarity cable sent to Libyan leader al-Qadhdhafi by 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the YSP Central Committee, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium and chairman of the Council of Ministers on U.S. provocations against Libya--date not given]

[Text] I have been following with great concern in the PDRY the U.S. provocations and moves against the Libyan Jamahiriya by the U.S. imperialist military troops which are stationed in the Mediterranean Sea and in coordination with Zionism and the allied forces. These provocations and moves are being made in order to prevent the fraternal Libyan people from playing their effective role in cooperation with all the progressive Arab forces and regimes against the imperialist and Zionist plans which are aimed at imposing the imperialist military, political and economic domination on the Arab peoples and countries.

While appreciating your marvellous steadfastness in face of these provocative acts, we in the PDRY reiterate our confidence on the firm will of our Libyan people and on their ability to foil all the imperialist and Zionist conspiracies. We reiterate the firm stance of the PDRY people, party and government in your support to confront the U.S. imperialism and Zionism and their agents.

CSO: 4400/205

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

PDRY CHAIRMAN CONGRATULATES DFLP LEADER

GF271820 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 27 Feb 83

[Text of PDRY Chairman 'Ali Nasir Muhammad's congratulatory cable to Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP], on the 14th anniversary of DFLP's establishment]

[Text] On the occasion of the 14th anniversary of DFLP's establishment and on behalf of the YSP Central Committee, I wish you and all the strugglers and fighters of your brave organization the warmest struggle wishes and warm friendly feelings, wishing victory for the just struggle of the Palestinian revolution on the way to universal recognition of the firm national rights of the Arab Palestinian people, foremost of which is their right to return to their homeland and self-determination and establishment of their independent state under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

The DFLP's establishment was a significant revolutionary incident and its prominent struggling role in various political, military, organizational and ideological fields has been a vital contribution to the promotion of the Palestinian revolution's circumstances and the strengthening of its struggle relations with the Arab national liberation movement factions in the national and social liberation struggle course of our Arab peoples against imperialism, Zionism and their foundations.

On this great occasion, we reassure you of our pride for the everlasting comradely struggle relations between the YSP and the DFLP, which are linked by joint progressive stances on various fateful issues for which the Arab peoples and their progressive forces are struggling.

Your celebration of the 14th anniversary of your struggling front which takes place during hard and complicated Arab circumstances is a reaffirmation for the bright struggling image of the Palestinian revolution despite all the hardships and calamities. We are confident that--thanks to the progressive struggle heritage of the Palestinian and Arab revolutionary movement--you will overcome all obstacles and difficulties caused by the aggressive powers in the course of the steadfast Palestinian revolution. Be confident that our people and party will always stand alongside the just struggle of the Arab Palestinian people and their revolution.

I would like to convey our sincere friendly greetings to the DFLP members, cadres and strugglers inside and outside your occupied homeland.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

PDRY CHAIRMAN RECEIVES DPRK MESSAGE, SENDS CABLES

GF281430 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 28 Feb 83

[Excerpts] Brother 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the YSP Central Committee, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium, and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received a written message today from Kim Il-song, DPRK President and general secretary of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee, on the nonaligned movement's seventh conference, the movement's role in this century and the importance of coordinating the joint stances in order to strengthen the nonaligned movement. The message also included an explanation of the goals of the provocative U.S. military maneuvers against the DPRK which express the U.S. imperialism's aggressive nature against the progressive countries and regimes in the world and which is a provocation not only to the DPRK, but to all Asian countries and the world. The message was delivered by the DPRK ambassador in Aden.

The secretary general expressed our country's denunciation of the U.S. provocations against the DPRK and its goals in continuing to threaten nations, their freedom and their right for future development in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other countries in the world.

Brother 'Ali Nasir Muhammad has sent a support cable to Comrade Kim Il-song, expressing our country's stance of denunciation for the U.S. threats represented by the provocative military maneuvers against the DPRK.

The secretary general expressed his confidence that all powers and peoples in the world who love freedom, progress and peace are against the aggressive U.S. imperialist provocations and conspiracies which are not only against the DPRK, but also against the peoples of the world, including our Arab peoples.

In his solidarity cable, the secretary general affirmed that the DPRK and all its friends are able to stand steadfast against all provocations and threats.

CSO: 4400/219

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

BRIEFS

USSR'S USTINOV CONGRATULATED--Brother Brig Gen Salih Muslim Qasim, YSP Central Committee member and minister of defense, has sent a congratulatory message to Dmitriy Ustinov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of defense, on the 65th anniversary of the friendly Soviet army, in which he stressed that the relations of joint cooperation and firm friendship between the armies and people of the two friendly countries all become stronger and grow daily under the leadership of the two vanguard parties. He wished him good health, happiness and success in achieving all his enormous tasks and wished the friendly Soviet army the successful execution of its duties and success in the defense of its socialist achievements. Brother Col 'Abdallah 'Ali 'Ulaywah, first deputy minister of defense and chief of staff of the armed forces, also sent congratulatory messages to Comrade Sergey Sokolov, Soviet first deputy minister of defense, and Comrade Marshal Nikolay Ogarkov, Soviet first deputy minister of defense and chief of the general staff of the Soviet armed forces, on the 65th anniversary of the Soviet army, in which he congratulated them on this great occasion and wished them good health and happiness and expressed the hope that relations between the armies and peoples of the two friendly countries will develop and flourish. [Text] [GF211758 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 0630 GMT 21 Feb 83]

'ANA'-'APS' COOPERATION AGREEMENT--A cooperation agreement was signed in Algiers today between ANA and APS. On the PDRY side, it was signed by ANA director general Brother Najib Muhammad Ibrahim and on the Algerian side by APS director general Brother Mohamed (Rasoq). This agreement is within the framework of the information protocol signed with Algeria and is a reinforcement of relations in this sphere. [Text] [GF241830 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 24 Feb 83 GF]

CSO: 4400/219



YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PHILIPPINES--The YAR and the Philippines have decided to establish diplomatic relations. A statement in this regard has been issued in San'a' and Manila. The two countries have decided to establish diplomatic relations in order to develop and strengthen relations of cooperation. The ambassadors of the two countries will be appointed shortly. [GF151533 San'a' Domestic Service in Arabic 1200 GMT 15 Feb 83 GF]

IRAQI OFFICIAL DEPARTS--'Abd al-Malik al-Yasin, Iraqi Foreign Ministry under-secretary, left San'a' today following a brief visit to the republic. In a statement to SABA' News Agency he expressed his satisfaction with this visit and said that he discussed with the Foreign Ministry officials the continuous exchanges between the two countries on various issues of mutual interest and the special preparations for the seventh nonaligned summit which will be held in the Indian capital next month. [Excerpts] [GF281455 San'a' Domestic Service in Arabic 1200 GMT 28 Feb 83]

PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO DPRK--Brother Ahmad Luqman, minister of state and secretary general of Supreme Council for Youth and Sports, conveyed in Pyongyang today a letter from Brother 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the republic, commander in chief of the armed forces and secretary general of the General People's Congress, to Korean President Kim Il-song dealing with bilateral relations and an explanation about the earthquake crisis and the grave damages it caused. [Text] [GF281810 San'a' Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 28 Feb 83]

IRAQI OFFICIAL ARRIVES--'Abd al-Malik al-Yasin, under secretary at the Iraqi Foreign Ministry, arrived in the country tonight on a short visit to the republic during which he will convey a verbal message to Brother 'Ali Lutfi al-Thawr, minister of foreign affairs and member of the Standing Committee, from his Iraqi counterpart Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign affairs minister. In a statement to SABA' News Agency he stated that the message deals with the current developments in the region, foremost of which is the Iraqi-Iranian war, in addition to issues pertaining [words indistinct] conference that will be held next month in the Indian capital. At the conclusion of his statement, the Iraqi Foreign Ministry under secretary lauded the national stances adopted by our country and its support for Iraq's stances on Iraqi-Iranian war. He was received by Brother Ahmad al-'Iryani, under secretary at the Foreign Ministry, Iqil Jasim Husayn, Iraqi ambassador to San'a', and embassy members. [Text] [GF271810 San'a' Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 27 Feb 83]

KIM IL-SONG MESSAGE--Brother 'Ali Lutfi al-Thawr, minister of foreign affairs and member of the Standing Committee, received a written message addressed to Brother Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the republic, commander in chief of the armed forces and secretary general of the General People's Congress, from Kim Il-song, DPRK president, which was conveyed by So Chong-won, DPRK ambassador to San'a, when he received him today. [Text] [GF271338 San'a' Domestic Service in Arabic 1200 GMT 27 Feb 83]

CSO: 4400/220

# ROLE OF WOMEN IN BUILDING NEW SOCIETY STRESSED

## Worker Calls for More Participation

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 22 Jan 83 pp 2, 3

[Text] "It is necessary for patriotic women to take an active and meritorious part beside their brothers at the present sensitive conditions, for building a blossoming society without any exploitation", Noria, a worker of the binding section of the Government Printing Press said in an interview with Kabul New Times.

She added: "I have worked here since 1358 HS (1979) and am very satisfied with my job and my working and living conditions, as I had cherished the hope to be a patriotic person and to participate in the production affairs of the country. And, fortunately, my long cherished desire—to be at the service of my compatriots—has been fulfilled."

"The working conditions, conducts of the organization's employees, necessary facilities for work and cooperative spirit of colleagues, further encourage me to work harder and I can explicitly say that I feel proud every time I cut a volume of books or other

printed works with my cutting machine. It is worth mentioning that the present conditions, created by the revolutionary Government for the workers, not only urge me but all the workers to make more endeavours with overfilled enthusiasm in fulfilling their assigned duties and responsibilities."

"It is essential for all patriotic men, especially the working class of the country, to make the utmost use of every minute and second. They should not let the world imperialism, headed by the world-devouring US imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and regional reaction interference in the internal affairs and make obstacles on the path of the evolution of the revolution and the progress of the homeland. Today, workers and all working people of our revolutionary homeland are endeavouring to raise the production level and I am confident that after the victory of the Saur Revolution, especially, its new and evolutionary phase, the feeling of love for work has been increased in all

They discussed the questions of further developing and deepening relations between the USSR and the GDR, as well as some topical international problems. The conversation was held in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and complete identity of views. On January 19 when Grumyko arrived in Berlin from Bonn, he was met at Schoenefeld Airport, bedecked with the state flags of the USSR and the GDR, by Hermann Axen, member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the SED Central Committee, Oscar Fischer, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the GDR, and other officials.

## WDOA Mobilizes Women

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 22 Jan 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Women's Role for People's Well-Being"]

[Text] The Women's Democratic Organisation of Afghanistan, vanguard of the women's movement in the country, fulfills a prominent role in mobilisation of women for revolutionary transformations in the country in the course of further deepening the revolutionary consciousness among them in Afghanistan.

Its significant role in the life of the Afghan women, who were emancipated from the ages-old bonds of superstitions after the victory of the Saur Revolution and its new phase, has been clearly manifested in many ways.

The Women's Democratic Organisation of Afghanistan, which has been turned into a major centre for mobilisation of Afghan women, enjoys the all-out support of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the revolutionary Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its untiring efforts to draw women into the social, economic and cultural life to accelerate the process of social development and further strengthen the social bases of the revolution.

Participation of the women in the social activities, enforcement of their social and civil rights, care of the mother and child,

attraction of the women to political and social organisations as well as trade unions to ensure their practical part in the political, cultural and economic activities, are among the major aims of the steps taken by the party and the revolutionary Government for solution of the question of women in Afghanistan.

Attempts are being made to provide women with the possibilities to become full-fledged members of the society and equal partners in efficiently running the affairs of the country.

In this important task, the Women's Democratic Organisation of Afghanistan is playing a basic and effective role.

\* At the second plenum of the Women's Democratic Organisation of Afghanistan for accelerating activities for improving organisational work among the women and attracting them to the rank and file of the organisation, a number of useful resolutions were adopted. And the third plenum of the organisation, held in pursuance of the decisions of the 10th plenum of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, has dealt with the improvement of organisational work and further strengthening of the

## WDOA.

The plenum has shown the way to expansion of the activities of the combatant members of the Women's Democratic Organisation of Afghanistan and has entrusted every members of the organisation with new tasks in further consolidation of the organisation.

In the light of the third plenum decisions, the women are being entrusted with **organisational** work which will, no doubt, positively affect the activities of the organisation both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Now in addition to the intelligentsia, working women from all strata including workers, peasantry and other strata are rallying around the Women's Democratic Organisation and defending their class interests. This is another manifestation of the deepening and influence of the activities of the organisation among the women.

The conscious and militant members of the Women's Democratic Organisation of Afghanistan, along with their brethren, today courageously defend the lofty aspirations of the revolution and its new phase and forge ahead for further victories.

PROSPECTS FOR RURAL ELECTRIFICATION BY 1995 DISCUSSED

Dhaka ITTEFAQ in Bengali 9 Jan 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Rural Electricity"]

[Text] On 6 January at Kashinathpur in Pabna, Pabna Village Electrification Committee II was inaugurated. On that occasion the Deputy Chief Marshal Law Administrator and Minister of Fuel and Mineral Wealth, Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud said that a grand plan for rural electrification in the entire country by 1995 has been adopted and in order to transform the socio-economic structure in the rural communities, the government was deeply interested in expediting developmental activities. Rural Electrification is a bold step towards achieving this developmental goal. A few days ago, in the workshop on "Productive Use of Village Electrification" which was held in Dhaka, ten countries including the United States, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh participated. At the end of the workshop the consensus was that village electrification projects have opened the doors of great possibilities in the villages throughout Asia. As a matter of fact, the evidence supporting this consensus can be found if we look at the rural areas where electrification projects have been completed. Rural electrification has transformed the village life in a real sense. To bring electricity to the rural areas means bringing modern life style itself to the villages.

Rural electrification is the key to the economic development of Bangladesh. From that standpoint, it is of utmost importance. The government is undoubtedly interested in improving the rural society and the rural economy. However, to improve the rural economy and social conditions there, rural electrification projects must be given the greatest priority. In the United States, as early as 1936 President Franklin D. Roosevelt initiated the process of wide-ranging development by establishing cooperatives to supply ample electricity to remote farms and small townships. In the Soviet Union also, Lenin gave great importance to the development of electrification. In the modern world, electricity is the yardstick of a country's advancement. Electrification projects should be considered from this very perspective. It is unnecessary to describe once again the importance and seriousness of electrification projects in cooperation with the United States for the widely scattered rural areas of this country.

It goes without saying that the sooner an important project like rural electrification materializes, the quicker the entire country advances toward diverse development and the rural economy and social conditions improves.

We cannot help but admit that in our country annually only 26 units of electricity per capita is generated, which is very little indeed. In the U.S. annual per capita 10,000 units of electricity is generated and more than 90 percent of the population has access to electricity. In Japan, currently almost 100 percent of the population uses electricity. Under these circumstances, in a country like ours the importance of electrification projects are so immense that it requires no further elaboration. The importance and usefulness of rural electrification projects have been substantiated in various fields. In 1977 at the beginning of this project, less than 2 percent of the rural population had access to electricity. Since then the supply of electricity has increased substantially. And many more villages are illuminated by electricity. It is hoped that by 1987 at least 25 percent of the villages will be electrified. To the electricity-deprived rural areas this is not a simple matter. The real development of the nation's economy and industry can never be possible by brightening up the big cities with neon lights while leaving the rural areas under the semidark dim flames of kerosene lamps. To begin with, the rural electrification project was undertaken from this very objective and perspective. Consequently, on the success and realization of this project alone hinges the development of rural life and its economy.

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CSO: 4607/2

## SUMMIT SAID TO POSE CHALLENGE TO INDIAN STATESMANSHIP

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Jan 83 p 2

[Text]

**T**HERE are hardly six weeks left for the non-aligned summit in Delhi. The arrangements for the big event, the most important conference of its kind to be hosted by India, are proceeding at a brisk pace. Senior officials of the Ministry of External Affairs have been visiting member-countries to assess and harness the consensus in advance on many contentious issues, while seeking their cooperation in ensuring the success of the conference.

Apart from posing formidable problems of hospitality in accommodating and entertaining nearly 80 heads of Government, about 100 Foreign Ministers, over 3,000 delegates and 7,000 to 1,500 media men, the host country has to provide the necessary political leadership in conducting the proceedings with tact and imagination to steer clear of embarrassing situations.

#### Creditable

The mere fact that India is able to organise a conference of this magnitude at such short notice is in itself a creditable achievement. A much more important feather in its cap will be the diplomatic skill it displays in carrying the great majority of the member-countries with it on issues of fundamental importance to the non-aligned movement, without attempting to discourage or deny due opportunity to those holding different views to articulate them.

The very size of the community with a membership of almost 100 countries, belonging to different geographical regions, reflects its inherent diversity, making it extremely difficult to evolve a meaningful consensus on any controversial subject with the dissenting minority acquiescing in the majority opinion in the larger interests of the unity of the movement. There were only 25 countries at the first summit in Belgrade in 1961 and the membership progressively swelled to 42 at Cairo in 1964, 53 at Lusaka in 1970, 64 at Algiers in 1973, 76 at Colombo in 1976, 93 at Havana in 1979 and now 97 at Delhi.

About 52 of these are from Africa including the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the South West African People's Congress, 29 from Asia, 14 from Latin America and two from

Europe with their own geographical subdivisions and ethnic or religious groupings that generally function together but tend to pull in different directions at times in the wake of regional or bilateral conflicts or clashes of interest.

#### Observers & guests

In addition to the 97 full members, there are 19 observers and 24 guests who are entitled to attend the non-aligned conferences. The observers, consisting of both countries and international organisations, have the right to participate in both the open and the closed sessions, take part in the discussions but not vote on any issue.

The guests, who also include both countries and organisations, can attend only the open sessions, but are not precluded from addressing them if they choose to speak for any particular reason, except that their turn would come only after all the members and observers had spoken.

The observer-countries are Barbados, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Mexico, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Paraguay and Venezuela. The organisations are the African National Congress, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, the Arab League, the Islamic Conference, the Organisation of African Unity, the Pan African Congress of Azania (South Africa), the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico and the United Nations.

The 24 guests include eight countries which are from Europe besides the Holy See. These are Austria, Finland, Portugal, Rumania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland. The 15 organisations are mostly U.N. agencies such as the ESCAP, FAO, UNCTAD, UNDP, UNESCO, UNIDO, WHO and the World Food Council, and several other bodies set up by the General Assembly for dealing with apartheid, Namibia, decolonisation and protection of the rights of the Palestinian people.

#### Early phase

The most important task during the early phase of the movement was to evolve a broadly acceptable concept of non-alignment



in the face of the Western attempts to decry it" as no more than neutrality in a narrow and negative sense. At the height of the cold war, the then U.S. Secretary of State, Dulles denounced the very idea of non-involvement in the superpower confrontation as something sinful, when the world remained sharply divided between the so-called free democracies and the captive societies of communism. In his inimitable style, Churchill went to the extent of ridiculing the idea as something self-destructive maintaining that one could not be neutral between a fire and a fire brigade.

It was Nehru's turn to put a positive content to the concept by stressing the right of the community to steer clear of power blocs, judge each issue on its merits and extend support to the right causes that helped to promote better international understanding and peace, while continuing to crusade against colonialism and racism.

The intention of the founding members of the non-aligned movement was not to build it up as an uncommitted third bloc in a bi-polar world with the two superpowers bent on dividing the international community into antagonistic military groups, but project it as a third force that was deeply committed to peaceful co-existence. The movement gained both respectability and acceptability with the end of the cold war, so much so that the two superpowers have been competing with each other in wooing it.

#### Pluralistic

The rapid growth of the non-aligned community has not been without strains, in the sense that a heterogeneous movement of this kind riven at times by narrow national, parochial or ideological conflicts could not always pull together in the pursuit of its lofty ideals and objectives. But the strength of the movement lay in its pluralistic character rather than uniformity, since unity could be preserved by allowing for its diversity except when basic principles were involved and the community as a whole had to take up a collective position.

The main task before the Delhi summit would be to display a steadfast adherence to such principles, along with a degree of mutual tolerance of diversity of opinion over peripheral issues. The non-aligned movement by its very nature could not be used for the propagation of any single ideology or promotion of any

individual or group interest.

The scope and horizon of non-alignment has grown over the years with the focus shifting from anti-colonialism and non-involvement in bloc politics to taking a principled stand on all major international issues backed by follow up action to uphold just causes. If more and more countries are keen on joining the movement as full members, observers or guests, it only goes to prove that the international community has begun to recognise the legitimacy of its aspirations and the validity of its emphasis on cooperation rather than confrontation. A more significant development has been that some of the Third World countries which sought to benefit by aligning themselves with one or the other power blocs have finally opted to join the non-aligned movement realising its advantages.

#### Better shape

The non-aligned movement was in danger a few years ago of being polarised and paralysed by its internal contradictions. But it has developed over a period of time the necessary resilience to withstand them. The Cuban attempt to introduce ideological overtones by declaring the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as "natural allies" of the non-aligned movement was frustrated in the same way as the efforts of some pro-Western countries to give an anti-communist twist to some of the Soviet actions were foiled by the other members of the movement.

The agonising differences over issues like Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Western Sahara, Chad and the Iran-Iraq conflict continue to divide the community, but the non-aligned movement as such is now in better shape than it was a few years ago when it had hardly adjusted itself to the internal pulls and pressures generated by the rapid expansion of its membership with the criteria for admission diluted in many cases.

The creation of the Coordination Bureau, and the subsequent enlargement of its membership, also contributed to the emergence of group politics within the movement, with the African, Arab, Islamic, Latin American and pro-Soviet or pro-Western groups exerting diverse pressures. The result is that the non-aligned community, representing two-thirds of the U.N. membership, has not been able to have any unified view even on issues like Afghanistan and

## ANALYST ON EXPECTATIONS FROM NEPAL LEADER'S VISIT

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Jan 83 p 12

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 22

The Prime Minister of Nepal, Mr. Surya Bahadur Thapa, and the Foreign Minister, Mr. Padam Bahadur Khatri, are paying an official visit to Delhi early next month for talks with Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, on various aspects of Indo-Nepalese relations on the eve of the non-aligned summit conference.

As a landlocked country, a powerful obsession with Nepal has always been its unhindered access to the sea for quite understandable reasons.

Its foreign policy has been aimed at securing proper trade and transit facilities through India, but the Nepalese leaders have tended to blame this country for all their problems, by imagining and even pretending at times that it is the inadequacy of these facilities that is responsible for the economic backwardness of the Himalayan kingdom.

**Balancing role:** The attempt to play a balancing role to secure its interests, by playing China against India in the wake of the Sino-Indian border conflict, had only increased Nepal's difficulties without enhancing its leverage in compelling India to make major concessions. It also strained Nepal's special relationship with India that gave its citizens and products free entry to seek employment and sell its produce in the sub-continent without any restrictions.

But, now, Nepal is striving for a better understanding with India based on mutuality of their interests, quietly abandoning the policy of

equating China with India in the name of preserving its own freedom of action. As a token of this new desire, Nepal has declined to go along with Bangladesh in internationalising the Ganga waters issue, preferring to arrive at a bilateral understanding with India for the development of their joint water resources.

The Nepalese Government has also realised that the bulk of the capital and technical expertise for the kingdom's industrial development must come from India, which alone is able to offer an assured market for its products. The big powers can at best extend nominal assistance, leaving the main burden to be borne by India for geopolitical reasons.

**Shift in policy:** This progressive shift in Nepal's policy has opened the way for a more meaningful relationship with India which in turn has responded with many positive gestures, including the appointment of a very senior retired official, Mr. H. C. Sarin, as ambassador to the kingdom. The stage is now set for some rapid improvements in Indo-Nepalese relations.

During his last three and a half years as Prime Minister, Mr. Thapa has not been out of Nepal except on one occasion when he came to Delhi on a private visit for medical treatment. But, now, he is paying his first official visit, accompanied by his Foreign Minister, to open a new dialogue with India.

What India and Nepal are now aiming at is to avoid a direct conflict of interests, while making a renewed effort to strengthen their traditional relations in the bilateral sphere. The visit of Mr. Thapa is being viewed by both countries as a major first step in this direction.

CSO: 4600/1667

## ANALYST DISCUSSES POSITION ON BEIJING TALKS

## Principles Reviewed

Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Jan 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, Jan. 19--After the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, returns to Delhi on Friday, the brief for the Indian delegation to the next round of Sino-Indian talks in Beijing will be finalised with the approval of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on the basis of the position papers drafted by the officials dealing with various aspects of the border problem.

Amidst its pre-occupation with the preparatory work for the forthcoming non-aligned summit conference, the Government has not been able to give due attention at the political or official level to this dialogue with China, although the Indian Ambassador in Beijing, Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran, has been called to Delhi for consultations.

There is just a week left for the finalisation of the brief before the Indian delegation, headed by Mr. K. S. Bajpai, secretary in the External Affairs Ministry dealing with China, leaves for Beijing on January 28. It is highly unlikely that within this short span of time the Government will be able to evolve any counter proposals on the border question for presentation to China at these talks other than going through the motions of reiterating the earlier stand that the package offer in its present form was inadequate and, therefore, unacceptable.

In the absence of any clear-cut proposals from either side, the two delegations can do no more than restate their respective approaches while wading through the jumble of verbiage of the working principles spelt out by them during the earlier discussions. The Chinese seem to be proceeding on the assumption that, since they had already put forward their package proposition, it was now India's turn to present its ideas on the subject.

Three sets: There are at present three sets of principles enunciated by the two sides at various stages of the current dialogue, which was initiated by the then External Affairs Minister, Mr. Vajpayee, during his visit to Beijing

in February, 1979, and carried forward by the former Foreign Minister of China, Mr. Huang Hua, during his return visit to Delhi in June, 1981.

The package offer, first made by Zhou enlai, during his visit to India in April, 1960, in the light of the de facto position at that time, was renewed by Mr. Deng Xiaoping during his talks with Mr. Vajpayee in the light of the altered circumstances, which meant that the so-called existing realities of the situation included the additional territory occupied by China in Ladakh during the 1962 conflict.

Mr. Huang Hua repeated the Deng package of 1979 but preferred to call it a proposal for a comprehensive settlement with the six points made by Zhou in 1960 serving as a sort of preamble to it.

No headway at first round: At the first round of official level talks in Beijing in December, 1981, the two sides tried to evolve a mutually agreeable approach to detailed negotiations, but failed to make any headway since they continued to view the problem from diametrically opposite directions.

The Chinese maintained that the package offer was an integrated proposition for a comprehensive settlement on the basis of the existing realities in both the North-West and the North-East which had to be accepted in toto or rejected altogether.

The Indian suggestion was that there was no harm in discussing the components of the package by reviewing the position in the Western, Central and Eastern sectors separately and simultaneously without prejudice to their respective overall positions. If this was agreed to in principle, it should be possible to start off where the Colombo powers left off in 1962-63 to negotiate a peaceful settlement acceptable to both sides.

The Chinese rejected this approach as both out-dated and unreasonable since in their view it sought to lay the primary emphasis on restoration of the status quo ante even if it be as a starting point for further discussions. The first round of official talks thus ended in a near stalemate without establishing any mutually agreeable basis for any worthwhile negotiations.

China's proposals: It was during the second round in Delhi in May, 1982, that China came forward with five new points to reinforce Zhou's six principles, and India in turn presented what were described as six working propositions. All these points, principles and propositions revolve round the same concepts of peaceful co-existence making no fresh contribution to the concept of an equitable settlement.

The six points of Zhou enlai were (A) a boundary dispute existed between India and China, (B) a line of actual control had come into existence with the two countries exercising administrative control on either side, (C) in settling the boundary dispute, certain geographical principles like watershed, river valleys and mountain passes should be taken into account, (D) the settlement should take into account the national feelings of the two peoples, (E) pending such a settlement, the two sides should adhere to the existing line of control

and refrain from advancing further territorial claims and (F) to ensure tranquility along the border both sides should refrain from patrolling it.

The five points put across by China at the last round of talks in Delhi, in juxtaposition to Zhou's six principles, laid stress on (A) equality, (B) friendly consultations, (C) mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, (D) a fair and reasonable settlement and ((E) comprehensive solution.

Working principles: The six working principles or propositions advanced by India were: (A) a solution must be found as early as possible, (B) it should be a just solution taking into account the legitimate interests of both sides, (C) both sides should find a commonly agreed approach and basis for discussions, (D) the proposals advanced by either side, as constituting an approach to the problem, should be considered by the other, (E) it is necessary to consider steps to create a propitious atmosphere and (F) efforts should be made to settle the border issue in each sector taking into account the different aspects of each sector.

A significant feature of all these first principles is that, despite their ambiguities, they do contain some mutually acceptable approaches for substantive discussions on the border problem. But it calls for the undivided attention of policy-makers on either side to be able to inch forward step by step without getting bogged down in differing interpretations. And amidst its present preoccupations, the Government of India at any rate has no time to come to grips with the border problem in the next few days.

#### Psychological Barrier to Dialogue

Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Jan 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, Jan. 26--The Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. K. S. Bajpai, and the Joint Secretary dealing with China, Mr. Ranjit Sethi, left for Karachi tonight to take a connecting flight to Beijing on Friday for the third round of official-level talks on the border problem.

The rest of the Indian delegation will join them in Karachi tomorrow night and proceed together to Beijing for the week-long discussions which will determine whether it is possible at all to come to grips with the nets and bolts of the border issue in the present circumstances.

The Indian team is going with a flexible brief to engage in substantive discussions if the Chinese side comes forward with any positive suggestions that could open the way for serious negotiations.

Amid her other preoccupations, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, presided over a strategy session during the last week-end to finalise the brief that had been drawn up, with the approval of the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, on how the Indian delegation should proceed at the third round talks consistent with the stand taken in the course of the earlier discussions.

Basic aspects: During the first two rounds held in December 1981 in Beijing and May 1982 in Delhi, the Indian and Chinese delegations went through the motions of saying what they wanted to say on the basic aspects of the border dispute, restating their respective approaches in terms of unexceptionable principles. But neither side has so far come forward with any concrete proposals that could serve as a mutually acceptable basis for negotiating a comprehensive settlement.

The Chinese continue to maintain that, since they have already made a package offer, it is now India's turn to present its counter proposals, if any, for considering them together in the over-all context of the shared desire for normalisation of relations. The package offer has not been made, so runs the Chinese argument, in a take-it-or-leave-it spirit, since they are prepared to discuss any alternative ideas India might have on the subject.

Opposite view: But India has been taking the diametrically opposite view that the Chinese attempt is to keep the border issue frozen indefinitely or settle it on the basis of a de jure Indian acceptance of the present de facto position, leaving them in possession of all the territory under occupation. The package offer, as seen by India, is no more than a clever diplomatic manoeuvre to make this country agree to the perpetuation of the status quo with or without an agreement.

The Indian side does not, therefore, regard the Chinese package offer as a serious proposal at all, except in the semantic sense of giving up the claim to territory south of the McMahon Line which is not in its possession, in return for an Indian renunciation of its rights to Aksai Chin and the adjacent area in Ladakh under its occupation. So India does not feel called upon to present any proposals of its own at this stage, until it is satisfied that China is earnest about a reasonable settlement that would be acceptable to both sides.

In this sense, the initiative for a real breakthrough in these protracted discussions rests with China. The present leadership in Beijing has yet to create the necessary feeling of reassurance in India that it is ready to negotiate an equitable settlement based on a balance of concessions by both sides.

Starting point: This psychological barrier to a proper dialogue has to be overcome before the two Governments can get down to any serious exchanges on the substantive aspects of the border problem. The principles and working propositions put across by the two sides at the earlier rounds do contain some common approaches, like the assertion that they should seek a just solution taking into account the legitimate rights of both countries and the sentiments of their peoples. It is possible to develop this theme into a sound starting point for commencing detailed discussions, provided the two sides are equally convinced about each other's sincerity in striving for an early settlement.

New assignments: As it so happens, the two senior Indian and Chinese officials who have been heading the working group dealing with the border problem --Mr. Ranjit Sethi from the Indian side and Mr. Chen Zhaoyuan from the Chinese side--are due to be given other assignments soon. It is doubly desirable that



some progress is made during the third round on the basis of the discussions that have already taken place in the course of the first and second rounds, before an entirely new set of officials are entrusted with the task of picking up the threads of the earlier exchanges.

A well-known Sinologist, Mr. Sethi, who has been heading the East Asia division for the last three years with considerable distinction is being appointed High Commissioner to Malaysia. A former envoy to India, Mr. Chen, will be taking up shortly his new assignment as Chinese ambassador in London.

CSO: 4600/1661



## CONCERN OVER INDIAN TRADE DEFICIT WITH EEC NOTED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 Jan 83 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, JANuary 18 (PTI)--THE vice-president of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), Mr. Ashok Jain, today expressed concern at the growing trade deficit of India with the EEC and urged the community to shed its restrictive trade policies.

Speaking at the closing session of the three-day Indo-EEC industrial technology and investment conference organised by the India Investment Centre here, Mr. Jain observed that time had come for the EEC nations to give a fresh look to their trade policy which would ensure greater access to Indian exports, particularly non-traditional items.

According to Mr. Jain, the EEC should not only remove irritants in the way of India's exports but also extend the same concessions given to 52 developing countries under the Rome convention.

The FICCI vice-president said embargo on imports, anti-dumping duties and variable levies, highly protective agriculture policies, non-transfer of inter-commodities, ceiling on total quota and discriminatory duties on marine products were the major factors that crippled Indian exports to the European Economic Community.

Mr. Jain said investment by the EEC countries in India could further expand the bilateral economic relations. He said such a move would not only help in catering to the Indian and the communities market, but also provide for exports to third countries.

It could provide technology to India in sectors like automotive industry, electronics, communication equipment, plastics machinery, drugs and pharmaceuticals, industrial machinery, Mr. Jain added.

He said the financial resources of the EEC could be clubbed with Indian technical skills for undertaken joint ventures in third countries and also for supplying turnkey projects. The possible area could include textiles, agro-based industries, engineering and metallurgical industries, machine tools and hotels.

Expressing concern at the proposal of the British industry for product liability legislation, Mr. Jain said its implementation would considerably restrict the exports like machine tools and diesel engines from the developing countries like India.

Mr. Jain welcomed the new commercial economic co-operation agreement between India and the EEC and expressed the hope that it would further strengthen the bilateral economic relations.

CSO: 4600/1657

## REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

G. K. Reddy Report

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Jan 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 17.

The Foreign Minister of Belgium, Mr. Leo Tindemans has been spelling out his vision of a new Europe and its relationship with the Third World during his wide-ranging discussions with Indian Leaders on all aspects of the present-day global prospects.

A former Prime Minister of his country, he is rated as one of the Western world's leading liberal statesmen, who has been pleading for the political

Integration of Europe as a logical follow up of its economic cooperation.

The European Economic Community, in his view, has so far con-

centrated on the establishment of a common market for dispensing with the trade barriers between the 10 sovereign member-States, without striving to create a truly unified internal market with a common monetary system, with an integrated approach to industrial, agricultural and social problems.

As President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community last year, he had cautioned that Western Europe cannot develop the necessary cohesion unless it worked step by step for putting greater political content into its economic cooperation. He wants the member-countries to evolve agreed approaches to basic political problems, so that they can react as a community with a united voice without behaving like an "a la carte Europe."

Mr. Tindemans has been a staunch advocate of a more sympathetic Western response to the Third World's plea for global negotiations. He wants the EEC to take what he calls an overview of the Third World's developmental problem and do whatever is possible to assist them.

Basic theme: The strands of this basic theme were neatly woven into his advocacy of better understanding between the EEC and the Third World in evolving a new relationship that is equally beneficial to both the developed and

developing nations. The Versailles summit failed to capture the mood of the Third World by taking a more pragmatic view of the proposed North-South dialogue. The failure of the European Community to assert itself in a more purposeful manner also led to worldwide disappointment over the inability of the West to rise to the occasion.

In the absence of the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narsimha Rao, who is still away in Managua attending the coordination bureau meeting of the non-aligned nations, the main discussions with Mr. Tindemans were conducted today by the Finance Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, at two rounds of talks dealing with both global and bilateral issues. Mr. Tindemans will be meeting the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, tomorrow for an exchange of views on East-West issues, besides matters relating to the forthcoming non-aligned conference.

He will also be having separate talks with the Ministers of Commerce, Communication, Energy and Petroleum, and Science and Technology, Electronics, Ocean Development and Non-Conventional Sources of Energy to explore the possibilities of increased bilateral cooperation. Indo-Belgian trade is still limited, but it has vast potentialities for growth if the right political and economic climate could be created for it.

An interesting feature of Indo-Belgian economic relationship is that the diamond traders in Antwerp have been getting the middle and low priced categories cut in India because of relatively low labour charges. As a result, India has been able to revive its traditional diamond industry which languished in the wake of European competition.

Loan agreement signed: Belgian aid to India since 1966-67 has totalled 4,410 million Belgian francs (roughly Rs. 88 crores). A loan agreement was signed today for an additional 350 million Belgian francs (Rs. 7 crores), free of interest and repayable in 30 years, to provide for debt relief and pay for some telephone equipment.

### Offer of Technical Cooperation

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 Jan 83 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, January 18--Belgium has offered technical and scientific co-operation to India in all fields including tropical medicine and nuclear energy.

The Belgian foreign minister, Mr. Leo Tindemans, said today that though Belgium was not a nuclear power in the sense of having an atom bomb, it was quite advanced in nuclear scientific research. He said nuclear energy did not figure during his talks with the Indian leaders.

He said his country was responsive to the problems of developing countries. He promised support for India's fight against protectionism.

Mr. Tindemans regretted that Belgium's relations with the Asia-Pacific region were not intense in the past.

The minister said India, as the future chairman of the non-aligned movement, was expected to play an outstanding role in world politics.

CSO: 4600/1657

## PARTNER-COUNTRY STATUS AT 1984 HANOVER FAIR

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Jan 83 p 6

[Text]

## NEW DELHI.

India has accepted the offer of the Hanover Fair authorities to be "partner-country" in the Hanover fair next year and this will afford an opportunity for India to show its industrial and commercial capabilities to the lakhs of visitors and customers from all parts of the world.

This was announced on Saturday, by Mr. L. H. Merkelbach, Director of Hanover Fair at a meeting with industrialists and businessmen at the Indian Engineering Trade Fair.

Mr. Kamlesh Sharma, Economic Minister in the Indian Embassy at Bonn, who was present at the meeting, said India would take at the Hanover Fair next year the largest space it had ever taken in any fair abroad.

Mr. Merkelbach, who had discussions with the Trade Fair Authority of India in this context, said the concept of according "partner-country" status to one particular country every year was started in 1980 with a view to focussing attention on the capabilities of that country. Normally, the participation was product-wise and not country-wise.

For instance, an Indian company might participate in the fair but its exhibits would be part of the pavilion displaying that particular product group from all the countries. The country, accorded the status of "partner-country" could put up a pavilion under its banner and display a variety of products in it. This provided an opportunity for the particular country to project its capabilities in all fields of industrial activity. The "partner-country" this year would be Portugal.

Mr. Merkelbach said India was the first Asian country to be accorded the partner-country status and expected its projection to be bigger than those of the previous three partner-countries.

CSO: 4600/1667

# CHARGES, VERDICTS OF EXECUTED MEMBERS OF 'UNION OF COMMUNISTS'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 29 Jan 83 pp 11, 12, 13

[Text] As our dear readers know, on Tuesday of last week, corresponding with the anniversary of the bloody incident at Amol, 22 perpetrators of the armed attack on the defenseless people of that city were executed (which executions were reported in the second edition of ETTELA'AT on Wednesday, 26 January).

Since the news of the executions reached us late Wednesday, there was no time to print the court rulings on every one of those executed and only their names were mentioned. Following are the rulings of the court concerning each one of the convicts and the offenses committed by them mentioned separately in detail. It should be pointed out that one of those executed was called Mina Tat, who was tried and convicted in the revolution court of Amol and punished in Amol, in addition to the 21 others who were tried and convicted in the revolution court of the capital. Therefore, the ruling on her was not available for printing here. Now, note the issued rulings:

In the name of the Almighty. On 17 January 1983, the first branch of the revolution court of the capital held a session to investigate the charges against those accused in the armed skirmishes of the forest of Amol, the attack on the martyrnurturing people of Amol and the merciless slaughter of the people by the Sarbedaran Jungle Group of the belligerent organization of the Union of Iranian Communists as well as the rulings handed down on them. Their names and offenses are as follows:

Briefly, the trial of the defendants began on Saturday, 8 January 1983, in the presence of the revolution prosecutor of the capital, the families of the martyrs and the eyewitnesses, and continued in morning and afternoon sessions until 12 January 1982, on which date, after the charges were read and the observations of the families of the martyrs and the eyewitnesses and the testimonies of the defendants were heard and after the prosecution had announced that it had rested its case, the court went into a consultative session.

In the last session of the court, the revolution prosecutor general was also present. The testimonies of the defendants have been recorded word by word in the minutes of the court and in the case files. After studying the evidence and after deliberation, the court handed down its rulings.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the confessions of the defendants, the testimonies of the eyewitnesses and the statements of the defendant, Mohammad Reza Separghami, son of 'Ali, alias "Yal Mohammad," resident of Amol, in the course of the investigation and before the court, the defendant was an active member of the Union of Iranian Communists, former chief of the Tehran committee, involved in the decision making of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters and the political official of the Mostafa Rahbar, one of the six militant groups which attacked the city of Amol.

Considering that the defendant was a local person, he was given the responsibility for identifying the edges of the Amol forest. He was actively involved in all the armed skirmishes of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters against the Guards Corps and the armed forces of the Islamic Republic, among them, the bloody skirmishes of 9 November and 14 November 1981, which resulted in the martyrdom of dozens of the Guards Corps members and the burning of military forces inside a military RIO truck. According to the confessions of Hoseyn Tajmir-Riahi, the first in command of the militant forces of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters, he was concerned with provisions in the forest and the attack on the city of Amol. He participated in the armed attacks on the neighboring villages and the confiscation of the property of the villagers as well as providing resources and obtaining provisions, including food, shoes and clothing for the forces in the forest.

He confessed before the court that he was a member of the decision making council of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters and had approved of the permanent committee's decision concerning the uprising and attack on the city. After explaining his deviations, the defendant admitted to going to the forest, participating in attacks and transferring arms, ammunition and RPG-7s to the forest, identifying the edges of the forest, camping in the area behind Osku District and training the militant forces. He confessed that he also participated in all the armed skirmishes prior to the attack on the city of Amol. He said that the armed skirmishes of 9 November, the first attack on the city of Amol, were unsuccessful due to the confrontation between the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters and the Mobilization agriculture vehicle at the entrance to the forest and that they retreated to the forest after closing the main Amol-Tehran road. The defendant explained the details of the plans for the skirmishes of 9 November and 13 November as well as the armed attack on the city of Amol and admitted to his participation in these armed skirmishes. He was actively present at all these skirmishes and witnessed the killing of Mohammad Shirazi and Kak Esma'il, the commander of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters. He confessed that they captured two motorcyclist members of the Mobilization in their attack on Amol and executed one of them on the street. He was armed with a J-3 and was responsible for determining



the edges of the forest and the escape route. The defendant revealed that the hypocrites were in touch with the fighters in the forest through contacts and later, with such belligerent groups as the leftist majority faction, the minority Feda'i, and Peykar, which sent forces to help the forest organization. He admitted that on the eve of the attack on Amol, 110 members of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters were at his home and they began the attack early the next morning. He witnessed and explained in detail the merciless slaughters by the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters in the city of Amol. The details concerning the Union, the forest group and the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters have been filed in the general bill of indictment of the Prosecutor's Office.

Therefore, the revolution court of the capital sentences him to death, charged with corruption on earth and belligerency resulting in the merciless slaughter of the people and the Mobilization and Guards Corps forces. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the confessions of the defendants and the statements of the defendant, Faramarz Tolu'i-Semnani, the defendant has been a member of the central cadre of the Union of Communists and a member of the Tehran committee, the permanent committee and the leadership of the organization and has actively participated in the decision making of the organization to fight the Islamic Republic and overthrow this godly regime as well as the transfer of 8 million rials in funds stolen from the Agricultural Bank of Khuzestan through the southern organizations, having received it from (Jasam) and delivered it to the Tehran organization. He confessed that from early spring of 1979 until his capture, he was a member of the central cadre and leadership of the Union and that from the end of the spring of 1981, he spent some time in the forest (and was also armed) and participated in the decisions concerning sending forces to the forest and the immediate uprising. He was one of the members of the permanent decision making council in the forest, which resulted in the armed skirmishes in the forest and the killing of the revolution guards and the armed forces of the Islamic Republic, the attack on the city of Amol and the merciless slaughter of the martyr-nurturing people of Amol and members of the Mobilization and the Guards Corps. He explained in detail for the court his long, continuous record with said belligerent organization abroad, his long residence in the United States, his membership in the Confederation and his position as secretary of the Ehya' Confederation. He participated in the councils of the unions formed abroad (secret congresses). The organization policy line was devised and planned in the congresses, especially in the Union council of the period 21 March 1980-20 March 1981, noting the armed policy of the organization.

In the court session, Iraj Shir'ali, one of the defendants, admitted that Faramarz Tolu'i-Semnani brought stolen arms and ammunition from the southern war front to his home and that he kept the arms and ammunition on his instruction, since he was a member of the central cadre, a matter which we shall come across in the cases of Hoseyn Riahi and others. These

weapons were transferred by Hoseyn Riahi ( a central member) to the forest of Amol to equip the militants. The details of the activities of the Union, the forest group and the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters have been recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Prosecutor's Office.

The defendant was the representative of the belligerent organization in the unity conference to establish a single Communist party in Iran. Therefore, the Islamic revolution court of the capital identifies him as a prominent member of the belligerent organization of the Union of Communists, a leader of heathenism and a supplier of arms and ammunition to the militant forces of the Union, especially the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters, and sentences him to death, charged with belligerency and corruption on earth. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the confessions of the defendants, the testimonies of the eyewitnesses and the statements of the defendant, Hoseyn Tajmir Riahi, son of Mostafa, alias Naser Bozorg, carrying a forged birth certificate in the name of Mohammad 'Ali Fathollahzadeh, in the course of the investigation and before the court, the defendant was a central member of the Union of Iranian Communists, in charge of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters, one of the original planners of the attack on the martyr-nurturing city of Amol, referred to as the immediate uprising, and one of the leaders of this bloody aggression. The defendant played an important and sensitive role in sending militant forces to the forest and sending arms and ammunition to the areas where the skirmishes took place and was in charge of one of the camps and military strongholds in the forest. The Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters had three camps--"upper, middle and lower"--in the forest. One of the camps had a force of 40 militants and the middle camp was the commanding camp. He participated in the armed attack on the city of Amol and the slaughter of more than 40 Muslim people and members of the Mobilization and the Guards Corps and was the top leader. After explaining in detail the activities and the policies of the organization, the militant operations in the forest and the planning for the attack and the immediate uprising, the defendant said in short:

I took part in the armed attack on the city of Amol and went to the city accompanied by the other members of the organization. Our goal was to instigate an uprising among the people. The militant forces of the gallows-defying jungle fighters were chosen from various provinces and brought to the forest. I engaged in gathering forces in accordance with the organization's decisions. Kak Esma'il (who was killed in the skirmishes) was in charge of all the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters. I helped him carry arms and ammunition for the Union. Twice I participated in carrying arms to the forest. In the forest, I was in charge of one of the camps. The wrong policy of the ruling regime was the cause of our deviation. And our skirmishes in the forest, which resulted in the killing of the young guards, were brought on by the 20 June deviation. Following this misguided policy and based on the analysis that the ruling regime was making a mistake, we went into the forest. We talked about the

immediate uprising, that we would inform the people and the people would rise up. In these skirmishes, a number of the Guards Corps brothers were martyred. I am sorry, but we caused the deviation and even after the uprising of the people in mid-winter of 1979, we considered the ruling regime reactionary. We have a bad report card, which has left us no room to defend ourselves in connection with the Communist movement. In my defense, I should say that I went to Palestine; I was tortured during the rule of the shah and I believe that one can work with any ideology, including Marxism, the same as the people of Vietnam did and became victorious. We had come to the conclusion that the revolution had been misguided and it was our duty to prevent this deviation. Hence, we wanted to engage in a mass uprising. We chose one of the cities as our stronghold and went into the forest, gathering about 100 persons and 70 weapons. For the first four months, we were in the forest. The first time we entered Amol (the armed skirmishes of 9 November 1981), there were skirmishes and we retreated to the forest, where we stayed with the food that we had provided ourselves from the villages. Our plan was to take over the headquarters of the Guards Corps and the Mobilization and we were sure that the people would join us. The headquarters of the Guards Corps and the Mobilization was captured in the attack on the city of Amol. The skirmishes began in the vicinity of the Mobilization headquarters, which was surrounded by our forces. All but one person were killed in the skirmishes. Shooting continued from 11:00 at night until 6:00 in the morning. In the morning, the skirmishes continued until our retreat in the afternoon, when the person in charge of military operations in the forest was killed and we retreated to the forest. The defendant explained the events after the revolution, which are recorded in the minutes of the court, and confessed that he was in charge of the whole organization of the Union of Communists until his arrest. He confessed: I became acquainted with Marxism during the period 21 March 1967-20 March 1968 through Bizhan Jazani and chose to follow it. Presently, I cannot say that I am a Muslim. Concerning the provision of arms, he confessed: We took arms from the southern war front and bought them in Kurdistan. On 26 January (the attack on the city of Amol), the sources for provisions were a person by the name of Mojtaba, whose real name was Heshmatollah Eslamipur (killed in the skirmishes), and Mohammad Reza Separghami (Yal Mohammad). He participated in the other armed and bloody skirmishes of the forest, according to the record. In the course of the attack on the city of Amol, the defendant was wounded. After retreating to the forest, regrouping the forces and leading the militant forces, he came to Tehran, appointing Mirza Yusef as his deputy in the forest. He was in charge of the leadership of the organization of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters and the whole organization of the Union until his arrest. The details of the activities of the Union and the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters have been recorded in the bill of indictment, with consideration for the general documents of the Prosecutor's Office. Based on the offenses and the confessions of the defendant, he has been found guilty as one of the leaders of heathenism, corrupt and belligerent and is sentenced to death. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the confessions of the defendants and the statements of the defendant in the course of the investigation and before the court, the defendant in this case, Seyyed 'Abdolrahman Azmayesh, son of Ja'far, alias Daryush, was a member of the central cadre of the Union [of Iranian Communists], in charge of organizing the entire organization of the Tehran committee and in charge of all the workers' divisions of the organization. He was responsible for Chit-e Tey, Towlid-e Daru, Kafsh-e Melli, Hukhsat, Minu and Iran National factories through his infiltrating elements. The defendant was a member of the Confederation in the United States, has had relations with the Union for a long time and was chosen as the labor director for the organization in the third congress of the "Union council." His most recent position was as a member of the central cadre of the organization and he was part of the leadership, along with Farid Sari' ol-Qalam and Hoseyn Riahi, until his arrest (which took place during an organizational meeting). He had a hand in transferring Hoseyn Riahi, the chief of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters, with the help of one of the active members of the organization, from Tehran to the forest. He sent the ammunition for the organization in a large suitcase with a hidden compartment, equipped the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters and instigated the skirmishes and the bloody events of the forests and the city of Amol, martyring dozens of the members of the Guards Corps and the armed forces of the Islamic Republic as well as the martyr-nurturing people of Amol. The defendant confessed in court that he was a member of the leadership cadre of the Union and in charge of organizing the entire organization of the Tehran committee, which covered the Mahallat forces, as well as communications and labor and was influential in said factories through his infiltrating elements. The defendant confessed that he spoke in the Tehran committee with Esma'il and Seyyed (Shahab), members of the central cadre of the Union, and had, on the whole, reached the conclusion that an uprising in Tehran would not be successful. For this reason, they moved the operations of the Union to the northern forest. Some of the forces, consisting mostly of volunteers, went to the forest. He admitted to his participation in transporting arms and in transporting Hoseyn Riahi to the forest.

He openly confessed to all the accusations in the bill of indictment and to playing an active role in the central organization. The details of the activities of the Union, the forest group and the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters have been recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Prosecutor's Office.

Therefore, the revolution court of the capital finds him one of the leaders of heathenism and sentences him to death, charged with corruption on earth, belligerency, and supplying the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters with weapons and ammunition. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the confessions of the defendants and the statements of the defendant in this session of the court, Ahmad Teymuri-Gorgani, the defendant was a member of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters and a member of the reconnaissance group for the forest

areas in establishing the militant camps in the forest (the upper, middle [command] and lower camps), spent about four months in the forest with the militant forces of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters, was armed with firearms (explosives and four [three-ways]), played an active role in the armed skirmishes of 13 November in the forest, which resulted in the martyrdom of the 11 guards and the burning of a number of soldiers and guards in a military RIO truck. His role was to wait in ambush and set traps for the Guards Corps unit. He participated in the transfer of provisions, food, ammunition and combat equipment back and forth through the forest over the road to and from Amol. The group was supposed to launch an armed attack on the city of Amol. They engaged in stealing three minibusses for transporting personnel to Emamzadeh 'Abdollah. As a result of skirmishes between the patrol forces of the Guards Corps and a unit of the forces, they did not succeed in carrying out the military plan and returning the ammunition and combat equipment to the forest, of which the defendant participated in the provision and transfer.

After the armed skirmishes on 13 November, the defendant was sent to Tehran by the organization and established relations with the Union. He continued his relationship with the members in the forest until early summer of 1982. The defendant was also active in the propaganda division of the organization and distributed handouts and the HAQIQAT publications, the organ of the Union, in connection with the entire operation of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters.

He pleaded guilty to all the charges in the manner recorded.

Therefore, the revolution court of the capital, finding him guilty in the above-mentioned cases, sentences him to death for belligerency, corruption and participation in the slaughter of guards and soldiers. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the detailed report on the activities of the Union of Iranian Communists, the militant operations of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Revolution Prosecutor's Office of the capital, the confessions of the defendants and the statements of the defendant in this case, Kamran Samimi-Behbahani, son of Habibollah, alias "Sa'id," resident of Tehran, the defendant was a member of the Union of Iranian Communists, having organizational relations with the central organization. The defendant was in charge of several financial projects and plans for the Union, which were financed with the money stolen in the armed robberies of four banks, and he procured clothing, rolls of paper and financial revenues for the Union. He was responsible for collecting financial aid from the members and supporters and the distribution of the Union's "HAQIQAT" publication for the Tehran organization. In connection with the military operations and the procurement of arms, the defendant hid 11 RPG-7 bullets, 1 kg of black gun powder, 11 bullet-proof vests, 73 sticks of dynamite, 100 mine detonators and 63 dynamite fuses. He was also involved in keeping a suitcase of weapons, including Kalashnikovs, J-3's and U-Z's in the basement



of his home, transferring them to a member of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters named Sohrab and sending them to the forest. He infiltrated the Shahid Foundation and under the guise of an English language translator, worked in this revolutionary institution under the name of Taher Musavi. He hired three members of the Union in this Foundation as translators. The defendant participated in the secret congress of the organization for one week. He was involved in the militant actions and operations of the Union, was aware of the plan for the immediate uprising and made an effort to equip the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters. He confessed in court that he was in charge of a large production unit belonging to Fati, alias "Dordaneh" (who was the large capital investor for and an ally of the Union), and that he received 500,000 rials from the organization, given to "Dordaneh" to invest for the organization. He explained his financial activities and mission in infiltrating the Shahid Foundation and confessed to concealing arms and ammunition which were part of the military resources of the organization. Faramarz Tolu'i-Semnani and Vahid Sari' ol-Qalam have verified their involvement in this connection, the sources for the procurement of arms and hiding them by Kamran Samimi. After studying the evidence of the offenses, the court finds Kamran Samimi guilty and sentences him to death for corruption and belligerency. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the detailed report on the activities of the Union of Iranian Communists, the military activities in the forest of Amol by the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Revolution Prosecutor's Office of the capital, the confessions of the defendants and the statements of the defendant in this case, Iraj Shir'ali, son of Nuri, aliases "Taqi" and Mas'ud, resident of Tehran, the defendant was a member of the Union of Iranian Communists, a member of the Tehran committee, a member of the propaganda committee, in charge of internal communications for the organization, in charge of receiving Union publications, in charge of communications with the publication distribution service, in charge of the student division of the city of Aghajari and in charge of the students of eastern Tehran. The defendant stole three J-3's, one colt, a large number of bullets and two wireless radios from the war fronts and delivered them to the organization. His purpose in being at the front was to steal arms and provide weapons for the organizations of the Union. He used his home to store arms and ammunition for the organization, including 10 J-3's, 10 Kalashnikovs, 6 RPG-7 missile throwers, 11 RPG-7 bullets, several grenades, 80 (perzh-3's) and Kalashnikov loaders, a large number of J-3 bullets, 1 military radio with parts, and a number of helmets and other military equipment. These arms and ammunition were stolen by them from the southern front and on the instruction of Faramarz Tolu'i-Semnani, they were transferred by truck to the forest of Amol by Kak Mohammad. The defendant described before the court his taking Naser Bozorg to the forest of Amol. He confessed: Faramarz Tolu'i-Semnani instructed me to go and pick up Naser Bozorg (Hoseyn Tajmir Riahi, the number one man of the forest organization) and take him to the forest in my car. On Friday, I kept our appointment and picked up Naser Borzorg and 30 other people. Naser Bozorg hid the colts in the door of the car. I took my wife and

child as passengers with me. Naser Bozorg came on a bus. I picked up the two persons. Twenty km of Amol, I reduced my speed while the lights were on and they went off. He confessed that in the late summer of 1981, when he was in the Tehran committee, he procured provisions such as dates, beans and rice and took them to the forest of Amol. The defendant hid Naser Bozorg and Gholam (Esfand) in his house. He added that his wife and her parents are members of the Union and are in prison.

Upon deliberation of the evidence in the case and the statements of the defendant, the court finds him belligerent, an equipper of the militant jungle force and corrupt and sentences him to death. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the detailed report on the activities of the Union of Iranian Communists and the militant operations of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters in the forest of Amol recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Revolution Prosecutor's Office of the capital, the confessions of the defendants, the testimonies of the eye-witnesses and the statements of the defendant in this case, Mohammad Nowruzi, son of Khodadad, aliases "Malek" and "Fahollah," resident of Abadan, the defendant was a member of the Union and a member of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters. He was active in the Aghajari organization, the publication division of the Union and the distribution of organization publications and was the organizational chief of three of the employees of the oil company in Khuzestan.

He had organizational contact with the persons in charge of the propaganda division and the workers division of Aghajari. He used part of his residence for the typing and printing of the "HAQIQAT" publication, the organ of the Union, and kept the printing press equipment of the organization. During his nine months of residence in the forest and participation in the militant operations, he took part in all the armed skirmishes of the [Sarbedaran] jungle group. In the session of the court, the defendant explained in detail the militant operations of the groups and his own participation in the skirmishes and confessed that in the armed skirmishes of 9 November 1981, he was armed with a J-3. After closing the Tehran-Amol road, they exploded bombs and threw Molotov cocktails. They were sound bombs and were thrown behind the road so that the cars that were passing would think that the road was mined and would not use it. In these skirmishes, he engaged in the distribution of the military communique of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters to ensure that in addition to creating fear, the news of the Amol uprising would reach Tehran and other cities. In the skirmishes of 13 November, the defendant was armed with a J-3 and in the Kak Mohammad group, accompanied by Sadeq and Dr Manuchehr, he was armed with an RPG. In the armed Razkeh skirmishes, he was with the Sadeq group and was in charge of the cargo which was transported along the road. According to his confession, the Yusef and Gholam Azhdar group engaged in armed skirmishes. In the attack on the city of Amol, he was armed with a J-3, was stationed south of the Amol Guards Corps headquarters and shot at the Guards Corps headquarters from there. He confessed that three groups of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters were stationed



around the Guards Corps. It was decided that the first person should be shot by Kak Sohrab and Mahmud. Both fired shots and shot the first guard. The search lights and the light in front of the Guards Corps headquarters were immediately shot out and the shooting and fighting continued until 4 pm. The defendant confessed that he shot two and a half cartridges, that in the skirmishes, he was going from trench to trench shooting at the Guards Corps trenches and did not know how many people had been killed.

According to the testimonies of the eyewitnesses, in this armed attack, more than 40 of the martyr-nurturing people of Amol, the Mobilization and the Guards Corps were martyred. In his confessions, the defendant spoke of the killing of some of the members of the Guards Corps and the Mobilization, but he has tried to place the blame for the killing of these people on other members of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters (who have either been killed or have escaped).

After the heart-rending Amol incident and retreat to the forest, the defendant participated and cooperated in hiding the ammunition and the weapons of the organization. Therefore, the revolution court of the capital finds the defendant guilty and sentences him to death for belligerency, participation in the merciless slaughter of the people and the members of the Guards Corps and the armed forces of the Islamic Republic and for corruption on earth. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the detailed report of the activities of the Union of Iranian Communists and the militant operations of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters in the forest of Amol recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Revolution Prosecutor's Office of the capital, the confessions of the defendants and the statements of the defendant in this case, Zia'ollah 'Abd-Manafi, son of Seyyed 'Ali, alias "'Abbas," resident of Tehran in Jamaran, the defendant was a member of the Union of Communists, in charge of the workers divisions of the organization in the southern branch (Abadan) and in charge of the Union in the city of Aghajari. He was an active member of the world confederation and the Ehya' Confederation in the United States and has been affiliated with the organization for a long time. The defendant played an effective role in the militant operations in the forest. He was in the forest for 3 months and was respectively commander of an 8-member militant group, deputy commander of a 16-member group and in charge of the provisions of the forest forces. He knew about various robberies in the south (by the middlemen) of funds from the treasury and the robbing of banks. The defendant directly participated in most of the armed skirmishes in the forest. In the armed skirmishes on 9 November, 1981, he was in the Kak Esma'il (the leader of the militant operations in the forest) group. His weapon in the organization was a colt, which was changed to a U-2 and he was put in charge of the militant camps, the upper camp, lower camp and middle camp (which was the command camp) and the transfer of the wounded. In the armed skirmishes of 13 November in the forest, he was armed with a

J-3 and was responsible for the military formation of the fighters in the forest. In the armed skirmishes of 11 December, he was in charge of eight members of the Union and was assigned to confront the Guards Corps and gendarmerie forces. He was armed with a J-3 and confessed that he shot and wounded Colonel Ruhi, the commander of the gendarmerie. He was sent by the organization to Tehran and had contact with the organization in the forest as well as the whole organization of the Union.

He confessed to the court that he decided himself to go to the forest with Roham Zarghami and Samad. The Sarbedaran Jungle Organization was managed under the leadership of Hoseyn Riahi (Naser Bozorg), Shahab, Mahmud and Yal Mohammad. The responsibility for the command camp was given to the defendant and he participated in all the above-mentioned skirmishes, including the armed skirmishes of Razkeh, the (Manglam) skirmishes and the skirmishes behind the camp. He witnessed the throwing of grenades and the firing of RPG's at military vehicles and the bloody killing of the Guards Corps members and soldiers. After the killings, they would remove the boots and clothing of the victims and, according to his confession, Shahab "Seyyed" and Naser Bozorg (Hoseyn Riahi) would act barbarically, despoiling the corpses. In the skirmishes of Zarkeh, he was the deputy commander and in the 11 December skirmishes, he was in charge of ambushes. He was armed with a Kalashnikov. He encountered a colonel who ordered him to disarm. He shot at him and later heard that the colonel had been shot. He confessed that he knew about the theft of arms and ammunition from the southern front and of their transfer to the forest. Considering the existing evidence on record and the statements of the defendant, the revolution court of the capital sentences him to death for belligerency and the murder of Guards Corps and military personnel of the Islamic Republic. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the detailed report of the activities of the Union of Iranian Communists and the militant activities of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters in the forest of Amol recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Revolution Prosecutor's Office of the capital, the confessions of the defendants, the testimonies of the eyewitnesses and the statements of the defendant in this case, Mahmud Azadi, son of Mohammad, aliases "Mostafa Marya" and "Nejat," resident of Ahvaz, the defendant was a member of the Union of Communists and the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters, resided in the forest for nine months and participated in all the armed skirmishes and attacks by the group in the forest. In the attack of 9 November, the defendant was armed with a J-3. In the armed skirmishes of 13 November, he was armed with a J-3 and a (three-way). In these skirmishes, dozens and more of the Guards were burned inside a military RIO truck as a result of explosives. In the armed attack on Razkeh, the defendant was in the Kak Mohammad group and was armed with a J-3 and a (three-way). In the armed attack on the city of Amol and the merciless killing of more than 40 Muslims and Mobilization and Guards Corps personnel, the defendant was armed with a J-3 and, as he confessed, he shot four cartridges (80 bullets). He was armed with a J-3 and a (three-way) in the (Manglam) skirmishes in which three members of the Guards Corps were martyred.

The defendant was arrested along with Heydi Mohammad Nowzari as a suspicious person on the street in Tehran. They pretended to be innocent until the arrest and identification of the Sarbedaran Jungle Group. After the crimes of the group had been exposed, they were forced to admit the truth. After the events in Amol, the defendant left the forest for Tehran and once again returned to the forests on the instructions of the Union organization.

In the court, one of the eyewitnesses testified against the defendant that he witnessed the defendant on the day of the attack on Amol to have fired upon and martyred martyr Hedayati. The defendant admitted that he went to the forest of Amol with Mahmud. In the skirmishes of 9 November, he was in the backup forces and was armed with a J-3. In these skirmishes, one of their group was killed and one guard was martyred. On 13 November, he was informed that the camps had been attacked. He was armed and he fired six shots. But Gholam Azhdar launched a deadly attack on the government forces; Manuchehr fired RPG's and about nine guards were killed. He explained the details of these skirmishes and the (bikar) support forces. He considered the role of Yal Mohammad, Kak Mohammad, Gholam Azhdar and Manuchehr RPG as very important. Yal Mohammad confessed before the court: Each one of us shot four cartridges and the defendant is lying about having shot six bullets. Another defendant revealed: We shot our last bullets at the tanks. Goltappeh verified that they shot all their bullets. The defendant recounted the Zarkeh skirmishes and the attack on Amol and confessed that on 26 January, he was on Mokhaberat Street where, along with other persons, including Reza from the Tufan party, they blockaded the road. Their job was to blockade the road, inspect the cars, engage whatever forces might be encountered and shoot in the air. There are contradictions in the statements of the defendant and other defendants and eyewitnesses. It is clear that the defendant is trying to present his role as insignificant. After studying the evidence, the court finds the defendant belligerent and corrupt and sentences him to death. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the detailed report on the activities of the Union of Iranian Communists and the militant activities of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters in the forest of Amol recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Revolution Prosecutor's Office of the capital, the confessions of the defendants, the testimonies of the eyewitnesses and the statements of the defendant in this case, Foruhar Farjad, son of Morteza, alias "Farrokh," resident of Tehran, the defendant was a candidate for membership in the Union of Communists, a member of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters (in the 11-member group inside the forest called the "Gholam Azhdar" group) and a member of the provision group to "procure food and supplies" in the forest. He participated in the armed skirmishes of the Sarbedaran Jungle Group. The defendant had a special role in the organizations of the Union. Because he was financially well endowed, he provided much aid to strengthen the organization with many resources. He cooperated in printing a part of the HAQIQAT publication, the organ of the Union, and used his office and residence to advance the goals of the Union and for organizational meetings. He hid

one of the central members of the organization in his house for two months. The defendant had organizational contact with a person called Mirza Yusef, the political chief of the Sarbedaran Jungle Group, in the course of the militant operations. He confessed before the court that he provided financial support to purchase arms and ammunition for the organization and participated in the 9 November skirmishes and the primary attack plan of Amol. He was among the first 18 persons who participated in the confiscation of the minibusses and the transfer of forces to the city which, due to skirmishes, was not carried out and the group retreated to the forest. He confessed that he was armed with a colt and went armed to the forest to fight. In the armed skirmishes of 13 November, he was in the upper camp group (where the skirmishes occurred), under the command of the Gholam Azhdar. He stated that Gholam Azhdar told him that 10-16 military and Guards Corps personnel in a military RIO truck were fired on by "Manuchehr" with an RPG and all were burned. He considered himself a partner in the crimes of the Sarbedaran Jungle Group and confessed to all the offenses in the bill of indictment.

After examining the evidence, the court finds Foruhar Farjad a belligerent and corrupt person and sentences him to death. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the confessions of the defendants, the testimonies of the eyewitnesses and the statements before the court of Mohammad Hoseyn 'Aliabadi, son of 'Abd al-Hoseyn, alias "Hasan," the defendant was a member of the central organization and the Union of Iranian Communists, on the board of directors, and was aware of all the decisions and activities of the organization, especially the decisions of the central cadre during the forest incidents, the dispatching of militant forces, the bloody incidents of the forest of Amol, the immediate uprising, the attack on the city of Amol and the merciless killing of the people. As a member of the central cadre in charge of the board of editors during the forest incidents, being in charge of the "society" section in the publication of the organization and research on rural issues and their evaluation, he facilitated and strengthened the operations of the militant forces and the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters and played an effective role in equipping them. Being in the central cadre and having organizational contact with the central group in the forest, he was aware of all the militant operations in the forest and he led the armed attacks by printing the military communiques of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters. He confessed that he had organizational contacts with other Marxist groups, including Peykar, and paved the way for the unity of the belligerent groups. Until his arrest, the defendant had contact with the Tehran organization and the Sarbedaran Jungle Organization. When he was arrested, he was meeting with four members of the Union. The details of the activities of the Union and the Sarbedaran Jungle Group have been recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Prosecutor's Office. He participated in the council of the Union (secret congresses), especially in the council of the Union during the period 21 March 1980-20 March 1981, and in devising and planning the policy lines of the organization to fight the regime of the Islamic Republic and plot its

overthrow as well as in devising and planning combat methods. Therefore, the revolution court of the capital finds him one of the leaders of heathenism, corrupt and belligerent and condemns him to death. The ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the detailed report on the activities of the Union of Iranian Communists and the militant operations of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Revolution Prosecutor's Office of the capital, the confessions of the defendants and the statements of the defendant in this case, Bizhan Fattahi, son of Mir Abolfazl, alias "Reza Chap," the defendant was an active member of the Union of Iranian Communists, in charge of the printing press of the organization and in charge of a nine-member group of the organization in the printing division as well as in charge of a four-member political group. The defendant went to the United States to continue his education during the period 21 March 1976-20 March 1977 and was active in the Ehya' organization. He was involved in the militant operations in the forest and cooperated with Hoseyn Tajmir-Riahi (Hoseyn Bozorg) in transporting arms and ammunition to the forest. The defendant confessed that the organization asked him to take the printing press to a safe place for security reasons. With the money that he received from the organization, he put down a deposit of 1 million rials and rented a house in Qeytariyyeh for 40,000 rials per month as a "reserve and printing house" so that if there should be a disruption in the publications of the organization, they would have this house as a backup. He confessed that the persons under his supervision were connected with the operations in the forest. He prepared provisions to send to the forest. He asked to send provisions to the forest, but because he did not have communication channels at his disposal, he did not do so. In connection with the transfer of arms to the Sarbedaran Jungle Organization, he confessed that one day, he saw Ms Nasrin Jazayeri at the meeting place and told her to meet Hamid in a particular place. He knew Hamid from before. Hamid told him to leave the car there, then, after an hour, to go there and take something in the car to another member. The appointment was for 7 o'clock at the Navvab intersection. The defendant and Hamid kept their appointment, where they met Hoseyn Riahi (the number one person in the Sarbedaran Jungle Organization). On his instruction, they delivered five packages containing arms wrapped in large plastic sheets to a truck loaded with bricks at 8 o'clock in the evening at the Azari intersection. They reported the transfer of weapons to Farid Sari' ol-Qalam (the representative of the immediate uprising movement in Tehran).

In addition to his roles at the organization's printing press and in providing printing facilities, the defendant purchased a tea shop as an organizational front in Paykanshahr of Karaj in order to recruit the workers of Iran National to the Union.

After examining the evidence, the court finds the defendant guilty and sentences him to death, charged with belligerency, equipping the militant Sarbedaran Jungle Organization and corruption on earth. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.



Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the confessions of the defendants, the testimonies of the eyewitnesses and the statements of the defendant during the investigation and before the court, the defendant in this case, Mohammad Reza Vosuqi, son of Najmuddin, alias "Mamad Gilan," resident of Hamadan and in charge of the Union of Communists in the Province of Gilan, was an active member of the Union and was under the direct command of the central cadre of the organization. He would take the materials for printing from the organization and had direct relations with the "forgery" division, which was the most important division of the organization. Because he was in charge of the organization in the Province of Gilan, he was in constant contact with the central organization and engaged in the printing and distribution of Union communiques in Gilan. He participated in the secret congress of the Union, "the Union Council," during the period 21 March 1980-20 March 1981 as a representative in charge of Gilan and because of his education in the United States, he had a record of cooperation with the Union. The defendant participated in the purchase of the organization's printing press and collecting revenues to strengthen the Union financially. He was in charge of an organizational shop fronting as a painting shop. He hid the Union's printing press and the arms and ammunition of the organization in the painting shop and transferred them to the jungle organization through another member of the organization by the name of Kamran Samimi.

In court, 'Abdolreza Ebrahimi ('Abdi) confessed that he gave arms to Mohammad Reza Vosuq [as published], the defendant in this case, and Bizhan Fattahi revealed: Reza Vosuq [as published], our leader, always told us that the actions of the organization were correct and that we should never go against the organization's central cadre. He was a member of the central cadre of the organization and agreed to the immediate uprising.

The defendant before the court: One day, 'Abdi told me that he had weapons which he wanted to give to the organization. I reported this to the central cadre and was assigned to receive the weapons. I hid them in the painting shop and later, they were sent to the forest. In connection with hiding the weapons, the organization admitted that they had contacted me and said that the organization had procured some arms which had to be hidden. On their instruction, I went to the street and took the car containing the weapons to the painting shop. It was decided that they should remain there for one week. But, they stayed there for a long time. Then the organization told me that I should give the weapons to Sohrab and then transferred them to the Sarbedaran Jungle Organization. The details of the activities of the Union and the Sarbedaran Jungle Organization have been recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Prosecutor's Office.

Therefore, noting that the defendant was a member of the central cadre of the organization, accepted the immediate uprising and participated in arming the Sarbedaran Jungle Organization, the revolution court finds him corrupt, belligerent and a supplier of arms to the belligerent Sarbedaran Jungle minigroup and sentences him to death. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the confessions of the defendants and the statements of the defendant, 'Abdolreza Ebrahimi, son of Qasem, aliases "'Abdi" and "Akbar," resident of Tehran, the defendant was an active member of the Union of Iranian Communists and in charge of the propaganda headquarters of the organization in the television college and the computer college. The defendant went to the United States during the period 21 March 1975-20 March 1976 to continue his education and there he joined the Union and became a member of the Ehya' Confederation. As a special photographer of the organization along with a number of others, under the cover of photography, he engaged in making films and galley proofs for "HAQIQAT," the organ of the Union. He used his house as a warehouse for publications, films, tapes, slides and the printing press of the organization. The defendant went through military training under the supervision of the organization in the villages of Kulijeh of Mahabad. He was involved in the theft of drugs from the hospitals and sending them to Kurdistan during the Sanandaj war. He was in charge of a medical team to treat the wounded belligerent elements and in Kurdistan, he was stationed in the military headquarters. In the court, the defendant and his accompanying group by the names of: [as published]

Mahin Khalesi and Soheyla Sang explained the procedure involved in the theft of drugs and sending them to Kurdistan during the Sanandaj war. The defendant was involved in the theft of arms and ammunition from the southern war fronts and Khorramshahr and sending them to Tehran and the forest. He confessed before the court that he was in Khorramshahr during the imposed war of the Ba'thist regime in order to obtain arms and ammunition. On the Khorramshahr front, along with two other members of the Union, they stole large numbers of J-3's, and RPG-7's. The defendant was involved in concealing ammunition, combat grenades, U-Z weapons and tear gas in his house. He then transferred to the forest of Amol the arms and ammunition, which were used in the bloody skirmishes of the forest and the immediate uprising of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters, through another member of the Union, Mohammad Vosuqi. Therefore, the revolution court of the capital sentences him to death, charged with corruption on earth, belligerency and providing arms for armed groups. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the statements of the defendant, Jahangir Ahmadi-Goltappeh, son of Shir'ali, alias Jahan, the confessions of the other defendants, the evidence in the case and the testimonies of eyewitnesses, the defendant was a member of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters and a member of the Union of Iranian Communists. He participated for a period of six months in the armed skirmishes in the forest of Amol. His most significant offenses include participation in the skirmishes of 13 November 1981, in which dozens of guards and soldiers were martyred and wounded and a number of whom were burned in a military truck, direct participation in the armed attack on the city of Amol and, as the group called it, the immediate uprising, in which the defendant was armed with a J-3. In this armed aggression, more than 40 of the people of Amol, the Mobilization and the Guards Corps were martyred. The defendant confessed that with a shot, he finished off a wounded guard. [He is also charged with] direct



participation in the armed skirmishes of Razkeh, in which he was in charge of the cover fire for the members on the front lines during their retreat. The defendant admits to one killing in these skirmishes. [He is also charged with] direct participation in the skirmishes of 9 February, including [the attack] on the city of Amol and the armed skirmishes in Ganznehsara, in which the defendant was wounded in the head.

The details of the activities of the Union and the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters have been recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Prosecutor's Office. The defendant explained in the court his organizational relations with the belligerent minigroup, the Union of Iranian Communists, and the details of the armed skirmishes and attacks. He confessed to his own armed participation in these bloody skirmishes. He confessed that he procured his military resources from the fronts of the imposed war and Khorramshahr, where he stole arms and ammunition and stored them for the future purposes and goals of the Union and the central cadre of the organization. He mobilized the central group of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters to fight the Islamic Republic and was active in the forests of Amol along with the militant groups. He participated in the armed skirmishes of 13 November, armed with a J-3, and witnessed a guard being martyred by Kak Rashid. He was armed in the attack on the city of Amol, where he killed a guard with a shot on Taleqani Street. A number of the people of Amol were martyred and he personally shot at the military forces and Mobilization and Guards Corps vehicles as well as a pickup truck carrying ordinary residents of the city. In the armed skirmishes of Razkeh, in which he was responsible for the cover fire, and on 9 February, after the armed attack on the city of Amol and the killing of the people, he again participated in the Gaznenhsarah [incident]. On 9 February, after the armed attack on the city of Amol and the slaughter in the forest, they took by force and stole ammunition and provisions and their goal was to overthrow the regime of the Islamic Republic. Therefore, the revolution court of the capital finds him guilty of belligerency, corruption, murder, and the slaughter of the innocent people of Amol and personnel of the Guards Corps and the armed forces of the Islamic Republic and sentences him to death. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the detailed report on the activities of the Union of Iranian Communists and the militant operations of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters in the forest of Amol recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Revolution Prosecutor's Office, the confessions of the defendants and the statements of the defendant in this case, Farid Sari' ol-Qalam, son of Habibollah, alias "Ehsan," resident of Tehran, the defendant was a member of the central cadre of the Union of Communists, in charge of contracting other belligerent minigroups, including the hypocrites organization and the Tofan Party, as a representative of the Union, contacting these minigroups in connection with the immediate uprising.

he defendant participated in the third congress of the Union during the period 21 March 1980-20 March 1981, in which the policy line of the organization against the Islamic Republic was devised and planned. He voted affirmatively in the decision making council concerning the question of the immediate uprising and was active in Tehran as a representative of this movement. He prepared the publication "HAQIQAT" and the communiques of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters in this point. He wrote about these matters and issues in the publication. He aided the personnel in the forest by sending forces and wireless radio. He was involved and participated in mobilizing the militant group. He received four weapons from one of the members, which he delivered to the organization.

The defendant confessed in court that in connection with the Sarbedaran Jungle Organization operations, when the permanent committee went to the forest, he was instructed by the central cadre to contact them and establish relations with the representatives of the belligerent minigroups in order to create unity, which he did. He was also in charge of the permanent committee. He confessed that he agreed to the immediate uprising, that he was the representative of this movement in Tehran and that he had numerous meetings with the central cadre of the hypocrites. He was aware of the militant operations of the hypocrites and the assassinations of the members of the Hezbollah and the personalities of the Islamic Republic and was in touch with the hypocrites in this regard. He was also involved in the armed street demonstrations and has recounted the details. He confessed that he received 20 colts from abroad, which were hidden in television and radio sets, and which he gave to the militant organization. The defendant confessed that he was devoted to the organization and has accomplished much for the Union. He played a sensitive role in writing articles and in the assassination of ideas. Therefore, the revolution court of the capital finds him one of the leaders of heathenism and sentences him to death, charged with corruption and belligerency. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the confessions of the defendants, the testimonies of the eyewitnesses and the statements of Roham Zarghami, son of Bizhan, alias Davud, the defendant in this case, the defendant was an active member of the Union of Communists, the workers committee and the eastern Tehran committee and was in charge of a five-member group of the organization. The defendant was in charge of the Darakhshan, Filco, Hochst and cement factories and had infiltrated elements in these factories who, according to them, had the factories under their control. He played an active and effective role in transporting and sneaking the members of the Union in the factories under his supervision to the forest of Amol, providing the necessary provisions for the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters and procuring them and sending them to the forest. He was in charge of the provisions of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters. Because of his long residence in the United States, the defendant had previous relation with the Union and was a member of the Ehya' Confederation. The defendant participated in the armed skirmishes of 9 November and the confiscation of three minibusses to transfer forces to the city of Amol. He was a member of the armed Sadeq group and was armed with a J-3, with

which, as he confessed in court, one member of the Guards Corps was martyred in those skirmishes. The defendant explained in court that on 7 November, the decision to attack the city of Amol and for the immediate uprising was made by Seyyed, Morad and Riahi of the central cadre of the forest. Seyyed, a member of the central cadre in the forest, stood up and said: Who is against it? [The defendant said:] We all accepted because we were afraid. On the instructions of Seyyed and his supervisor, Jadeq, we transferred our forces to the forest and underwent three weeks of military training for the immediate uprising.

[The defendant continued:] In the events of Razkeh, our forces attacked directly and we were responsible for backing up the forces, which we did with our line of cover fire. Kak Esma'il (who was killed in Amol) was with me in these skirmishes. In connection with procuring provisions, 'Ali Derakhshan, alias Morad (who was executed by a ruling of the revolution court), was in charge of the provisions for the forest. I went to the forest because of Morad. Morad pressured me saying that they had no forces and I cooperated for two months in connection with transporting provisions to the forest.

The defendant confessed to being armed in the skirmishes of 13 November and participating in the slaughter of dozens of Guards Corps members. On the instruction of the organization, he came to Tehran to regroup forces and until his arrest, he was in contact with the militant Sarbedaran Jungle Organization and involved in the following events, including the armed attack on the city of Amol, and the Tehran organization. Therefore, the revolution court of the capital charges him with corruption on earth and belligerency (resulting in the slaughter of Guards Corps and military personnel of the Islamic Republic) and sentences him to death. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the detailed reports on the activities of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Revolution Prosecutor's Office of the capital, the confessions of the defendants and the statements of the defendant in this case, Farajjollah Lesari, son of Khalil, alias Mirza, resident of Tehran, the defendant was an active member of the Union, a main member of the publication committee under the direct supervision of the central cadre, an active member of the struggling students and the society of the belligerent minigroup, Line Three (Union, Strugglers, Peykar and Pishgam), spokesman of the organization of the Union of Communist, in charge of the division for "Research on the Soviet Union," a member of the organization committee and participated in the third secret congress of the organization (the Union council) during the period 21 March 1980-20 March 1981 and was involved in the idea of the immediate uprising. Although he was arrested three months before the militant operations, he did not say anything in this regard. The defendant confessed in court that he worked on the publication committee under the supervision of "Ehsan Farid Sari' ol-Qalam" of the central cadre and made speeches on the instruction of the organization in various universities and cities--Sanandaj, Bukan, Mahabad, Amol, Sari, Tabriz and Esfahan--explaining the positions of the Union. He

was one of the decision makers in the third congress of the Union council. The policy line of the organization against the Islamic Republic was planned in this congress and then the organization decided upon the belligerent method. He was a member of the Ehy'a Confederation abroad and cultural secretary of the Confederation for northern California. He was responsible for a publication called "16 AZAR" [7 December] (the organ of the Confederation). Therefore, the revolution court of the capital finds him a leader of heathenism and sentences him to death, charged with belligerency and corruption on earth. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the detailed report on the activities of the Union of Iranian Communists and the military operations of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters in the forest of Amol recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Revolution Prosecutor's Office of the capital, the confessions of the defendants and the statements of the defendant in this case, 'Ali 'Alizadeh, son of Zaman, alias "'Ali M-1," resident of Tehran, the defendant was a member of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters and participated in all the armed skirmishes of the forest as well as the attack on the city of Amol. In the first armed attack on the city of Amol, he was armed with two (three-ways) and a Molotov cocktail. In this attack, the group intended to attack Amol by closing the Tehran-Amol road, throwing explosives on the road and creating fear, which plan, because of an encounter with the Guards Corps patrol, they were unsuccessful in carrying out and they retreated to the forest. The defendant participated in the armed skirmishes of 13 November, which resulted in the martyrdom of dozens and more Guards Corps members and a number of Guards Corps and military personnel who were burned when explosives were thrown at a military RIO truck. First, accompanied by an ambush group, they were in charge of the security of the middle camp (the command camp) and then the upper camp (the location of the skirmishes). In the skirmishes of 9 December, the defendant was a gunner assistant and, as he confessed, his job was to load the guns. He also had two (three-way) explosives.

In the armed attack on the city of Amol, the defendant was armed with a J-3 and was in charge of the provisions for the trenches. He was stationed at the entrance of an alley to block the military forces. After several hours of skirmishes, they retreated to Rezvaniyyeh District on the instructions of Kak Mohammad. According to the court testimonies of the eyewitnesses, he was the first person to retreat to the Rezvaniyyeh Garden and commit murder. He confessed that there were 50 of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters in the Rezvaniyyeh Garden. The army was covered and they retreated. Here, he fired several shots (in the air). In court, two members of the martyrs' families declared that their children were martyred in the Rezvaniyyeh Garden and filed charges against the defendant.

After studying the evidence in the case and the statements of the defendant, the court finds him corrupt and belligerent and sentences him to death. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.

Court ruling: Based on the evidence in the case, the confessions of the defendants, the testimonies of the eyewitnesses and the statements of 'Eydi Mohammad Nowruzi, son of Hasan 'Ali, aliases "'Abdi" and "Saleh," the defendant in this case, the defendant was a militant member of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters and a member of the decision-making council in the forest of Amol, who made all the military decisions and preparations for the armed attack on Amol under the title of the immediate uprising. Based on the evidence in the case and his own statements, the defendant was in the forest for nine months and participated in all the armed skirmishes of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters. On 11 August 1982, he was arrested as a suspicious person in Tehran and until he was identified, he did not say anything and professed his innocence. After the arrest of the members of the group and their identification, he was forced to tell the truth. He confessed that he was armed with a J-3 in the skirmishes of 11 December in the forest under the command of Yusef Gorji. In these skirmishes, a number of Guards Corps members and members of the Fajzollah were martyred. In the armed skirmishes of (Manglam), he was armed with a J-3 in a group under the command of Sadeq (who was killed in the armed attack on the city of Amol), in which three of the Hezbollah brothers were martyred. When the martyrs were wounded, he burned their bodies with cigarettes and written slogans against the imam. The eyewitnesses present in court have testified to his participation in this heinous torture. In the armed attack on the city of Amol and the merciless slaughter of the people, the defendant was active in the group under the supervision of Gholam Azhdar and was armed with a J-3, grenades and (three-ways). He was responsible for the security of the entrance to Tadi District. He confessed that they had closed the entrance to the city from Mahmudabad with explosives and TNT, preventing the entry of the military forces, and mercilessly slaughtered the people and the personnel of the Mobilization and the Guards Corps. He fired 40 shots (two J-3 cartridges) himself.

He was armed with a J-3 in the armed skirmishes of Gaznehsara and was responsible for transferring the wounded to the city. He confessed that he was armed and that he was responsible for transferring the wounded.

The eyewitnesses explained to the court the details of the armed skirmishes of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters, including the defendant, and also the martyrdom of the guards and their own observations. The defendant also spoke in detail on the subject and admitted to having committed the crimes. He added that he was present at the slaughter of 13 November and had gained experience from that bloody skirmish. The details of the activities of the Union and the Sarbedaran Jungle Group have been recorded in the general bill of indictment of the Prosecutor's Office.

Therefore, the revolution court finds the defendant guilty of belligerency, corruption on earth and the slaughter of the Guards Corps members as well as the martyr-nurturing people of Amol and sentences him to death. This ruling is in accordance with religious law, is final and must be carried out.



1. Mohammad Reza Separghami,  
member of the decision making council  
of the Sarbedaran Jungle Fighters.



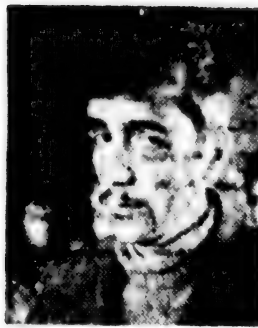
2. Faramarz Tolu'i-Semnani,  
participation in the decision  
making for the immediate  
uprising.



3. Hoseyn Tajmir-Riahi.



4. 'Abdolrahman Azmayesh, in  
charge of the workers' division  
and one of the leaders of the  
Union.



5. Ahmad Teymuri-Gorgani, member of the reconnaissance group of the forest areas.



6. Kamran Samimi-Behbahani, organizational head of several financial projects and plans.



7. Iraj Shir'ali, member of the Tehran committee and in charge of dispatch relations.



8. Mohammad Nowruzi, organizational head of the oil company employees.



9. Zia'oddin 'Abd-Manafi, in charge of the workers' division in the southern branch.



10. Mahmud Azadi, participation in all the skirmishes and slaughter.





11. Foruhar Farjad, membership in the group for procuring supplies and food in the forest.



12. Bizhan Fattahi, in charge of printing and in charge of a nine-member group.



13. Mohammad Reza Vosuqi, the liaison for the forgery division of the Union of Communists.



14. 'Abdolreza Ebrahimi, special organization photographer and storehouse keeper.



15. Jahangir Ahmadi, participation in the skirmishes resulting in the martyrdom of Guards Corps members and soldiers.



16. Farid Sari' ol-Qalam, member of the central cadre and head of the publications committee.



17. Roham Zarghami, membership in the central cadre and in charge of misguiding the workers.



18. Farajjollah Lesari, active member of the belligerent minigroups of Line Three (Union, Strugglers and Peykar).



19. 'Ali 'Alizadeh, five months residence in the forest and participation in all the skirmishes.



20. 'Eydi Mohammad Nowzari, in charge of all the militant decisions and the armed attack on Amol.

10,000  
CSO: 4640/98

VELAYATI OUTLINES IRAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

GF250610 Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 7 Feb 83 p 14

[Report on Interview by Iranian Foreign Minister Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati with JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI correspondent in Tehran--date not given]

[Excerpts] Dr Velayati began by elaborating on certain measures taken by the Foreign Ministry to spread the message of the revolution, especially in the cultural field. He said: As you know, the cultural activities of the revolution are actually the responsibility of ministries, organizations and cultural bodies which operate on the basis of their duties and the policy they have, for example, the Guidance Ministry or the Islamic Propagation Organization and other official bodies and organizations. As far as the Foreign Ministry and embassies are concerned, we consider ourselves obliged to make efforts to spread and propagate the Islamic revolution's culture and the value of the renaissance of Islam and our embassies are engaged in achieving this goal. Of course, this also happens to be the basic right of an embassy in another country.

On publications abroad, he added: The performance of each embassy is according to the means at its disposal. On the whole, the embassies, especially those which have been newly established are handicapped by lack of trained staff because publishing literature and newsletters requires a specialized person, one who is trained in the field of cultural publications and in most cases, the facilities in this respect are inadequate. Therefore publications in our various embassies are affected by certain factors and depend on how much manpower is available for the purpose.

For example, our publications in some countries have a circulation of 25,000. Some of our embassies have three publications in three different languages. One of our publications is printed by one of our publishers and 10,000 copies are sent to foreign countries.

With regard to the important subject of activity and reforms that have taken place in the field of foreign affairs and, as a whole in the Foreign Ministry, Dr Velayati said: In the political sphere, we have endeavored to base our relations with various countries on principles acceptable to the Islamic Republic and on the rebirth of Islam, the constitution and in accordance with the laws of the Islamic revolution. On these fundamental principles and

infrastructure we formulate our foreign policy. Even in the field of political theory, we have by the grace of God, made great progress and our brothers in the political department are engaged in the compilation of these principles and political infrastructure with the assistance of the other departments.

Commenting on the priority of relations with foreign countries, the foreign minister said that from the practical point of view we have during the past, endeavored to forge our ties with a country on the basis of the importance we give to that country or to previous ties with a country. People from a country come here and our delegations go abroad, and efforts are made for political ties with countries holding views unanimous with ours. The factors we bear in mind in our relations with other countries are that we give priority to Islamic countries, Third World countries, neighboring countries and to all the peaceful nations of the world.

Our Islamic Republic's major achievement on the international level which was led by the Foreign Ministry was to change the venue of the nonaligned conference. You should know that this entailed 400 meetings with political authorities of the countries of the Nonaligned Movement on various levels from the presidents on down and 50 trips abroad for explanations of and attention to our request for the change of venue from Baghdad to New Delhi. Praise be to God and the blood of the martyrs that the Foreign Ministry, through intensive efforts, accomplished this task.

The Foreign Ministry also played a very active role in the latest UN session as you all know especially regarding the Israel issue. The Islamic Republic of Iran was the pivotal factor in the bodies affiliated to the United Nations as well as in the United Nations itself, and was a leader calling for the expulsion of Israel from this organization. Our envoy made some very interesting headway which proved highly effective in the UN political arena.

On the role of the Foreign Ministry in the country's economy, the minister said: Over a year ago, the headquarters for the coordination of foreign economic relations was formed in the economic field and was set up in five ministries initially. Now the number has reached six with the seventh being the Foreign Ministry itself which is concerned with economic, industrial and commercial operations with foreign countries. The deputy ministers meet at the Foreign Ministry and decide to which countries goods are to be exported and the quantity of exports and imports. It is natural that our foreign policy should form the axis, the fulcrum of our economy and commerce in relations with foreign countries.

The performance of the coordination headquarters has been very interesting. As you know, during the past year we have sent many economic delegations abroad of which half were sent to Third World countries and most of these were Islamic countries. If you wish to know what progress we have made in this field, our trade with the Third World countries previously amounted to 9 percent and but has now reached 25 percent which is the result of the efforts of this headquarters. We do not view our relations in the capacity of a buyer and a seller but our ideology and policy has a direct influence on our economy.

Commenting on the increased number of ambassadors, Velayati said: Ever since the selection of personnel was conducted by the Foreign Ministry over a year ago for appointment of cadres to embassies abroad, more than 500 dedicated and Muslim persons have been selected who had worked in the Foreign Ministry or embassies abroad and during the past year the number of our ambassadors has increased more than five times. We are trying to substitute revolutionary individuals dedicated to the cause of the Islamic Republic, the Islamic revolution and Islam for those who are not dedicated and negligent of the ideals of the Islamic revolution.

On the defection of diplomats abroad to various countries, he said: When we initiated reforms in the embassies it was foreseen that there would be certain people who worked in the embassies when they should have been working at the center and were not at all qualified to work in the Foreign Ministry. In any case we decided that it was better that such people should not be in the embassies and we recalled them. Some of them returned but others did not return. This means that they themselves were aware of what they had done and that the Islamic system prevailing in our country leaves no room for their activities so they did not return. We would eventually have removed them anyway and replaced them with other individuals. Therefore when we summoned them it was obvious some of them would not return and our prediction proved to be correct.

It is essential that you know that nearly all those who defected last year were those who had been summoned and did not return. They were issued a second summons and did not heed it so they were stripped of their posts and at the time of their defection they did not hold any post in the embassies and the Foreign Ministry.

On mode of selection of diplomatic personnel, he said: Here I may add that not one person who had been selected by the selection boards of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has defected. Praise be to God! Commenting on the weaknesses of the powerseekers, the minister said: We are confident that the superpowers whether Eastern or Western will not maintain their present sway over the world in the future because the people of the world are becoming aware and such opportunities will not be available to them. Everyday the Americans hatch new schemes on how to dominate the world and revise their tactics, plans and schemes which is a positive sign of their weakness and the impasse that they have reached. We are certain that the future will not be to the benefit of the United States or any other domineering power in the world.

CSO: 4640/121

COMMENTARY: 'REGARDING TALKS WITH AFGHANISTAN'

TA022029 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Unattributed commentary: "Regarding Talks With Afghanistan"]

[Text] Dear compatriots: In recent days the UN Secretary General's envoy visited Islamabad, Kabul and Tehran, capital of our revolutionary homeland. His purpose in making this visit is something we are all aware of. He had the task of arranging talks between Afghanistan, Pakistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran for normalizing the situation around Afghanistan. It should be stated that the Afghan Government has repeatedly put forward certain proposals regarding normalizing relations with its neighboring countries. The UN Secretary General's envoy expressed satisfaction over his talks in Kabul, and now it is up to our country's officials and the authorities in Pakistan.

Washington is striving to doom to failure the UN efforts to resolve the situation around Afghanistan. It is not without reason that these days a gentleman by the name of Gregory Newell, a senior official of the U.S. State Department, has visited Pakistan. On the basis of a provocative program, he visited Pakistan's frontiers and the camps of the Afghan counterrevolutionaries located in this area, and once again promised assistance to all of them. U.S. aid to the gangs of these Afghan counterrevolutionaries is at present about \$200 million. It is with these funds that in 80 camps in Pakistan the Afghan counterrevolutionaries are trained by U.S., Egyptian and Pakistani advisers in the use of chemical weapons, in sabotage and murder, and in setting fire to mosques, schools and hospitals. These counterrevolutionary bands kill farmers, teachers, mosque imams, nurses and doctors. Thus, if it had not been for the intervention of America and of its associates and elements in Pakistan and in our homeland in fanning the flame of the undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan, without doubt a problem by the name of the Afghan problem would not have existed.

The crimes that are being perpetrated in Afghanistan are due to the provocations of America and its elements. The only correct and logical conclusion one can draw from this situation is that the main objective of a political solution to the problem should be a full and reliable guarantee of the cessation of any kind of armed and unarmed intervention in the internal affairs of independent and democratic Afghanistan, and the creation of conditions that will render impossible such interventions in the future.



The Afghan Government has repeatedly declared that only on condition of the cessation of armed intervention from abroad, particularly from Pakistan's and Iran's territory, in the affairs of revolutionary and democratic Afghanistan, and after receiving the necessary guarantees in this connection, will it discuss the problem of the withdrawal of several limited military units of the Soviet Government with that government. The issue of the presence of several Soviet military units in Afghanistan is something that concerns these two governments. The withdrawal of these units is conditional on the cessation of military intervention from abroad in the internal affairs of revolutionary Afghanistan. This is a fact which should have been realized a long time ago by those who raise so much tumult and clamor about the so-called Soviet intervention in Afghan affairs. There exists no problem by the name of the Afghan problem. A problem which does exist is the undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan and the criminal intervention by America and the counterrevolutionary mercenaries from Pakistan's territory and our homeland in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, which should be terminated.

Only such a solution meets the anti-imperialist and anti-American goals of our nation's revolution, not harmony and cooperation with the conspiracies of world-devouring America against democratic and independent Afghanistan.

CSO: 4640/122

IRAN

BRIEFS

IRANIAN REFUGEES IN LISBON--There are more than 150 Iranian citizens in Portugal at this time, who have come from Pakistan and are asking for asylum. As we have been able to ascertain from Dr Philippe Lavenchy, the representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, there are hundreds of Iranians in Lisbon who are not registered and awaiting passage to other countries. Among those are many Mojahedin cadre. Mexico, Spain and countries that offer them the possibility to emigrate to the United States have been the principal points sought by these refugees. Meanwhile, the "wave" of Iranians reported by this paper previously, has intensified, since Portugal, at this time, is the only country in Europe receiving Iranian citizens without a visa. It is possible, however, that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs may cancel this provision. [Text] [Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 18 Feb 83 p 44]

CSO: 3542/56

MRD'S PRO-SOVIET STAND SEEN AS THREAT TO PAKISTAN'S SECURITY

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 29 Jan 83 p 9

[Article by Chaudhri Abdul Hamid: "MRD's Politics Lacks Wisdom"]

[Text] Recently, upon recalling his forgotten destination, Maulana Obaidullah Anwar went to Peshawar to pay a visit to Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan and presented Khan Abdul Wali Khan with a three-point formula for election unity. After deliberation, Khan Sahib has now replied through his secretary general, Ghulam Ahmad Billor, that Maulana should not insist on his proposed formula and should only mention that point, out of MRD's four points, with which he disagrees.

Should I consider this Maulana's simplicity or simple-mindedness that he also has expectations from his former election colleagues? Khan Abdul Wali Khan is the spokesman for the NDP (not Sher Baz Mazari) and Wali Khan's viewpoints are the same as his father's. The formal leader of the party, Sardar Sher Baz Mazari, while expressing his love for democracy, has gone so far as to say that if people's sense of deprivation is not remedied, they will start looking beyond the Frontier Province. As far as his party is concerned, they are already doing so.

At the time of India's partition, Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan himself indicated stronger opposition to the establishment of Pakistan than the Indians, so much so that when even the most prejudiced group of the Congress agreed on this, Abdul Ghafar Khan expressed his anger and went so far as to say, "You have given us to the wolves." These "wolves" were their religious brothers against whom their hatred had reached its extreme. Actually, this was also a method of expressing their uninhibited loyalty to the Hindus.

Even after the establishment of Pakistan, when Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad advised him to serve Pakistan, he replied, "Maulana Sahib, you have failed to understand me." Maulana knew him well enough but he gave Khan Sahib sincere advice; whereas Khan Sahib wished to satisfy Quaide Azam and our other leaders with twisted talks. Nevertheless, how could the people who, after successfully competing with Gandhi and Nehru's wicked moves, had gotten their share of morsel from their mouths be trapped by

the words said with mental reservation by the "lowest soldier of Gandhi?" While living in Pakistan, Khan Sahib supported every single movement that could weaken the foundations of Pakistan. He also indicated his disaffection from Pakistan by staying for a long time in Afghanistan. He tried to fly over Pakistan on his way to India and after receiving rewards from them for his past and present sincerities, he went straight back to Kabul, but he never cared to visit Pakistan. This act became a source of glee for Pakistan's enemies, which was his objective. In my opinion, this is the central point of his way of thinking. He gains importance in the eyes of strangers by opposing his own people in this way. Anyway, his own nation does not possess so much capital as to offer him secret and open aid and rewards. In this regard, he has proven extremely far-sighted. For a long time, his son Khan Abdul Wali Khan proclaimed his loyalty to Pakistan. That is why for some time, contrary to his father, he made appealing speeches and statements. In this way, he tried to gain the confidence of the people. However, ever since the Soviet Union's influence in Afghanistan has increased and his father has been manipulated by the Kabul administration installed by the Soviet Army, his manner of conversation has also changed.

Now after a long time, Khan Abdul Wali Khan has recalled that he organized a boycott at the time of the public vote on Pakistan because he also wanted to seek public opinion on a third alternative. In other words, since the demand for the separation of the Frontier Province from Pakistan and total freedom was not accepted, he boycotted the public vote as a protest. It is a different matter, however, that he failed in this objective.

It seems that these Khans are up to something, and now they once again wish to create a problem for Pakistan by pleasing Delhi and Moscow, so that they can provide the Soviet Union with an opportunity to act upon the announcement made on the occasion of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's tour of the Soviet Union, which was that if situations similar to those of Bangladesh are created in Pakistan, the Soviet Government once again will do exactly what it did with regard to the fall of Decca. To strengthen this attitude of his, he thought it essential to disgrace even the honorable personality of Pakistan's founder, and upon being rebuffed, said indignantly that he would reveal more secrets. Now our long-time benefactor has given us sincere advice that there is no need to bear the burden of defense expenditures. Stop buying arms and you will see an abundance of food here. This is also the viewpoint of the former minister of law and order and supporter of the "civil martial law," Mian Mahmood Ali Jaspuri. Indira Ji, too, is giving us the same advice. What conclusion should now be drawn from this?

My question is directed at those companions of Wali Khan who share his viewpoints and claim to be patriotic as well. Wali Khan himself, once and for all, has uttered the meaningful sentence: "We have no need to obtain a certificate for patriotism from anyone." As for Afghanistan, Hazrat Ghulam Ahmad Billor has stated that he has no objection to the military intervention of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Instead, he believes that the steps taken by the Soviets were justified.

... the people who want to see Pakistan unarmed will now initiate a "Save Pakistan Movement." They have recently found an easy method of protecting Pakistan, which is as follows: If an enemy attacks, give him loud applause. He will run away and leave behind rivers flowing with milk and honey, from which, with the permission of Indira, Rani and Andropov, we will enjoy a glassful. This method has been discovered from a 250-year-old written manuscript with Mohammad Shah Rangila's stamp on it. This manuscript is preserved in the India Office library.

Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan's politics revolve around himself and his family. When he got an opportunity to form a ministry in the Frontier Province, all Muslim ministers were his near relatives. He could not think of even a single Pathan outside his own that was capable of being in the ministry. For his entire life he has tried to make the Muslims the slaves of the Hindus, and now he wants the Afghans (whose leadership he claims) to agree to accept Soviet slavery. He expresses his sincerity to the Soviet Union by declaring the Afghans' war for freedom as an American conspiracy, so that he might have a certificate for that and use it when necessary. His stay in Kabul and Jalal abad was merely due to his enmity with Pakistan. Afghanistan is his place for refuge. However, when the Soviet Union's domination gradually started to increase there, he never cared about it. Not a single tear fell from his eyes even on the death of the conspirators as Sardar Dawood, Nur Mohammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin. He had no feelings of support for the Afghan nation even when the destructive forces of the Soviet Union arrived there. He has now returned to his country to accomplish the goals of the Soviets and the Indians and does not intend to return. In the name of "service," he supports Soviet politics, news of which in any case must be reaching the Soviet Union, and a place must have been created for him or his political heir just as for Husak of Czechoslovakia and Jaruzelski of Poland. Nevertheless, he is unaware of the consequences of Zahir Shah, Sardar Dawood, Nur Mohammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin. His proposal that the holy war should be ended and an agreement reached so that the lives of the Afghans may be saved is the advice given by a traitor and a cowardly political agent. He is well aware of the implications of the "Brezhnev doctrine," according to which any country once surrounded by the influence of the Soviet Union cannot come out. Instead, it loses the right to make the slightest move to freedom. Czechoslovakia was attacked just because it wanted freedom of trade on a limited scale.

Afghanistan is faced with a similar situation. Once it comes under the influence of the Soviet Union, it will be unable even to peek outside.

What will be the next step for the Soviet Union after it has established itself in Afghanistan? The writing is on the wall. Like the entire nation, we seek God's refuge from that impending event. But the Khans are anxiously awaiting this time. If these people really love freedom, what do they mean by supporting the Soviet attack on Afghanistan? In the Soviet system of government, an innocent bird named freedom died from suffocation a long time ago. They declare the Afghan Mujahddin to be the agents of America, which means that by accepting the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan as lawful, this Islamic country would be handed over to atheists and nonbelievers.

## INCREASE IN GAS, PETROLEUM PRICES FUEL INFLATION

Karachi JANG in Urdu 11 Jan 83 p 3

[Editorial: Price Increases"]

[Text] The federal government has increased the prices of most kinds of gas and petroleum. The upward revision of prices in the middle of the budget year is tantamount to presenting a minibudget and is contrary to the government's promise not to present a minibudget during the year. The price rise comes as a jolt to all classes in the country but is especially hard on the poor, who are wondering how they will cope with the new wave of inflation. Whenever the prices of gas, oil and electricity are raised, manufacturers and retailers pass on the burden of the added expense to the consumers. The prosperous minority can shoulder the price rise, but increasing inflation has become an intolerable burden for the great majority of the people in the middle and lower classes. As far as wages for services are concerned, these do not increase with the rise in inflation. As yet there is no automatic system for increasing the cost of living allowance, which would bring about a rise in wages in line with the rise in the price of necessities. Each time there is a new wave of inflation here, it is customary for workers and wage earners to start a series of demands and protests in answer to which the government spends a great deal of time making studies and promises; by the time it decides to raise wages, poor workers have already been reduced to dire circumstances and have been overwhelmed by another wave of inflation.

Undoubtedly, there are various internal and external economic factors that added to the development projects, create a rise in prices and there seems to be no escaping it. But we are afraid that the economic recovery in the country, which the government claims has taken place in the last few years, has not benefited all of the people on a just and equal basis. The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. We went through a similar experience during the Ayub period when the most important economic progress took place; but those who benefited from it most were the famous 22 families. Everyone remembers the people's reaction to this and the storm that it created in the country. If an effort is made to lead the country along the same path again, there will be a similar violent reaction. On the one hand, we are trying to establish an Islamic system; the zakat system has been promulgated and the system of ushr [tithes] is expected to be introduced;



but at the same time, the capitalist system of interest is creating severe economic inequality as a result of which the number of people needing zakat will increase annually. Islam, on the other hand, establishes a just economic and social order under which the number of people needing zakat continues to decrease until there are no such needy people left. Islamic history proves that this does happen.

One can gauge the country's situation from the statement of Prof Khurshid Ahmad, a leading economic expert in the country, which he made during his review of the Sixth 5-year plan. He said, "Poverty is increasing at a rapid rate in the country, and what is obtained in the name of Islam [remainder of sentence missing]. Forty percent of the people in the country are on the lowest rung of poverty; 50 percent of the population lack facilities for drinking water; economic inequalities continue to increase. Eighty percent of the people are unable to educate their children. There is a lack of housing and medical facilities. The economic situation is very precarious and our dependence on foreign loans is increasing. According to one estimate, the country owes \$9 billion in loans."

We offer this statement of an economic expert in support of our view that as a result of the existing capitalistic system of interest in the country, prosperity has been limited to a small class of people, while the great majority of the people are victims of poverty and are crushed under the ever-increasing burden of high inflation. The measures needed to help the poor combat the rise in prices do not keep pace with the severity of inflation. For example, while prices of all commodities, from foodstuffs to common necessities, continue to rise throughout the year, there is no effective and permanent system of keeping inflation under control.

As a result, retailers charge what prices they wish, and manufacturers and wholesalers increase prices whenever and as often and as high as they please. They do not have to answer for their actions to anyone or explain the reason or the legality of raising their prices. Since the government raises the price of essential commodities two or three times a year, and factories in the public sector raise the prices of their manufactured goods as well, the private sector has been given the green light to raise prices as well.

As a result of this situation, unemployment is on the rise; workers are laid off constantly; and some national organizations have cut their personnel and some large national institutions such as the railways have expressed their intention of doing the same. Job opportunities are not meaningful in the sense that people cannot find jobs that use their skill and ability. In many organizations, the work demanded is on a high level, but the wages are at low levels. Unemployment and the lack of meaningful jobs have created great economic and social problems for the poor, especially poor youths. Under such conditions, to increase prices through multiple budgets and minibudgets is tantamount to creating and exacerbating general unrest and agitation in the country. These measures are probably being taken on the advice of the fools who occupy positions in the bureaucracy. These actions run counter to the objectives the government has formulated for

establishing the just economic and social system of Islam. When prices are raised, concessions and facilities that enable the poor to combat the rise in prices should also be announced at the same time.

We suggest that the government undertake a special study of the effects of inflation and the general economic conditions in the country as soon as possible. We also suggest that the government create a national economic council composed of the country's prominent and trusted economic experts to discuss and study ahead of the time the important policies that the government intends to implement. Several economic experts in the country have criticized the government's economic policies. It is particularly necessary to discuss the Sixth 5-Year Plan to save the country from the evil effects of policies adopted in accordance with the spirit of the existing capitalist system. The greatest need at present is for short-term revolutionary measures to protect the poor from the effect of inflation; at the same time, effective measures should be taken to replace the existing capitalist interest system with the Islamic economic system of no interest. Admittedly, the government has tried to place certain sectors under a system of no interest, but these efforts have been so few and so limited in scope that they have had little effect. The speedy establishment of an Islamic economic system can be studied by the national economic council that we have proposed. We advise the government to take speedy and effective steps to alleviate the agitation created by the decision to raise prices.

9863

CSO: 4656/88

FORMER BALUCHISTAN GOVERNOR CRITICIZED FOR STAND ON AUTONOMY

Karachi JANG in Urdu 14 Jan 83 p 3

[Editorial: "Governor Bugti Advised To Refrain from Revoking His Allegiance"]

[Text] Nawab Akbar Bugti, an elder Pakistani statesman (we look upon statesmen belonging to any part of the country as national statesmen), speaking to newsmen in Lahore, stated bitterly that all that matters to the people of Baluchistan is provincial autonomy, nothing else. The reaction of people who bear thoughtless malice toward leaders of small provinces and are given to fantasies is obvious. It will simply be the accusation of "separatist tendencies" and "disloyalty." We do not object to this [Baluchi] demand but what amazes us is that an elder statesman like Nawab Bugti should be asking the martial law authorities to solve basic problems. Similar mistakes were committed during the previous martial law regime when the Yahya government was asked to make a decision about dissolving the "one unit" system under changed circumstances, thus threatening the country's unanimity. If general elections had been held during the previous federal administration and the "one unit" issue had been left to the elected assembly, perhaps the crisis of provincial autonomy would not have reached dimensions that have resulted in splitting the country in two. Pakistan is not the only country that is faced with the problem of provincial autonomy. The way this issue was confronted during provincial elections clearly proves that even uniforms based on a democratic constitution are not free from such problems. The best way to solve such problems would be to let the elected representatives of all federal units unanimously decide the outcome of this issue. Governor Bugti is quite correct in saying that this is not 1973 but 1983. But the nation that solved this problem and succeeded in working out a unanimously accepted constitution is capable of doing the same in 1983. As far as revoking the 1973 constitution is concerned, this is especially ill advised of Nawab Bugti, who completed his term of office as governor of Baluchistan after taking an oath of allegiance to this constitution. And the same applies to Mr Mengel, who served as the chief minister of Baluchistan, and Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, who signed the constitution. This issue concerns not only Baluchistan but all of Pakistan alike.

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OFFICIALS URGE PRIVATE SECTOR ROLE IN SOLVING POWER CRISIS

Karachi JANG in Urdu 20 Jan 83 p 3

[Editorial: "Power Crisis...What Plans for the Future"]

[Text] Former finance minister and former secretary of the defunct People's Party Dr Mubashshir Hassan, in a statement to the press, has suggested that the only way to deal successfully with the current serious power shortage is for the government to let the private sector set up power stations and for the WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] to purchase electricity from them at wholesale rates and provide it to consumers. He predicted that the power crisis will be yet more serious next year, affecting produce involving billions of rupees, which in turn would create serious economic and political problems for the country. The reason for this is that the government does not have the administrative machinery which by working two or three times present capacity could in the coming years make up for the power shortage. He has therefore advised the establishment of 200-megawatt power stations in Quetta, Peshawar, Karachi, Hyderabad and Lahore. Due to the market slump in Western countries, there should be no difficulty in obtaining power stations that could be brought into Pakistan within 6 months and commissioned by January 1984 provided no questions are asked as to where the money has been obtained. The private sector can also make arrangements for the necessary foreign exchange. Dr Mubashshir Hassan is not the only person to point to the intensity of the power crisis facing the country today. Dr Mahboubul Haq, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, has also been predicting such conditions. Dr Mahboubul Haq, describing the energy crisis as the most serious has reiterated that the sources of natural gas already discovered will be exhausted in the next 20 years. This is a very disturbing situation. It is not possible to depend entirely on water resources. Fuel is becoming scarce and the cost of imported oil even now is much higher than we can afford.

The present situation is such that our villages and cities are engulfed in darkness starting in the evening. When will the thing that has made us infamous for the past 10 years give us electricity? What are our scientists about to invent? Are the nuclear power stations that are found in such abundance everywhere so extraordinary that after installing one in Karachi we cannot proceed even one step further, even though now with the grace of God we have our own plutonium?

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